

IDS
DISCUSSION PAPER **388**

A Short History of IDS: A Personal Reflection

Richard Jolly
January 2008

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IDS Communications Unit
Institute of Development Studies
at the University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK

Tel: +44 (0) 1273 678269
Fax: +44 (0) 1273 621202
E-mail: bookshop@ids.ac.uk
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Communications Unit
Institute of Development Studies
at the University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RE, UK
Tel: +44 (0)1273 678269
Fax: +44 (0)1273 621202
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Summary

IDS was founded in 1966 as a 'special institution', Britain's first national institute of development studies. This history, prepared for the 40th anniversary, traces the evolving story from the founding vision and leadership, especially of the first Director Dudley Seers, the early programmes of research and short term training courses, the establishment of the first MPhil course in 1973 and the threats to IDS's existence when the institute was classed as a Qango (a Quasi non-government organisation) under the Thatcher Government in 1979. With strong support from within Britain as well as from abroad, IDS survived and over the years has maintained an impressive national and international record of pioneering work in research, teaching and, since the 1990s, in communications and outreach. After a shaky financial few years which followed the loss of all core funding from government in the 1990s, the institute's basic programmes of research and teaching have grown in both quantity and quality.

The history identifies 12 areas where IDS has made pioneering intellectual contributions: its early work on the meaning of development; employment strategy and redistribution with growth; village studies; participatory approaches and the perspectives of poor people on development; women and gender as integral to development; national development in the context of unequal international relations; science and technology and transnational corporations; development thinking applied to developed countries; alternatives to structural adjustment and debt relief; broader concepts of governance and democracy; an ethos of walking the talk; and over the whole period, multi-disciplinary approaches which question development orthodoxy. Since the 1990s, IDS has strengthened its national and international outreach with a wide range of approaches and initiatives to communication and knowledge sharing.

The history proceeds in four parts: the main chronological account which sets evolving ideas in research and teaching in the context of changing development issues and policy preoccupations; milestones in IDS's major intellectual contributions; a 40th anniversary balance sheet of the institute's successes, failures and omissions; and a brief final word on the future.

Keywords: IDS, history, evolving development themes, participation, communication.

Professor Sir Richard Jolly is an Honorary Governor and Research Associate of IDS, to which he was appointed as a Fellow in 1968 and where he succeeded Dudley Seers as Director in 1972, a post he held until 1981. From 1982 to 1995 he was a UN Assistant Secretary General, first for nearly 15 years as Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF, responsible for its programmes worldwide and afterwards for five years as Principal Coordinator and senior author of UNDP's Human Development Report. He was knighted by the Queen in 2001 for services to international development and has been awarded three honorary doctorates. Details of his books and other writings will be found on the IDS website.

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Preface

This brief history of IDS was prepared for the IDS fortieth anniversary conference which took place at IDS from 20 to 22 September 2006. It is a personal reflection, based on documentation, notes and memories from my long association with the Institute. I very much hope it will help remind past and present IDS members of some of the high points and a few of the low ones during this period. Even more, I hope it will remind us all of the contributions and leadership which IDS has given to development studies, nationally and internationally, over the years – and thus serve as a motivation and challenge for the future.

This history is brief and personal. In preparing even what I have, I have become ever more conscious of the mass of material and events which I have omitted or ignored – in addition to much I have never known about. All history, if it is to be readable, involves selection and a story line. This is my version. I have especially focused on the intellectual side, especially in research and teaching, since in my view this was and remains central to the Institute's leadership and effectiveness. But I have also stressed the changing roles of IDS, especially the major expansion of communication and other outreach activities since the early 1990s.

I owe a debt to many others of IDS who have contributed to this account. I have received detailed notes from all of the previous Directors, and have drawn on them liberally. Thank you Mike (Faber), John (Toye) and Keith (Bezanson). Thanks also to Lawrence Haddad (who, we hope, still has many years to go at IDS before he too becomes a past Director). I am also grateful, as so often in the past, to Emanuel de Kadt, Deputy Director during much of my own period as Director (and for nine months, Acting Director), and to Carlos Fortin, also Deputy Director during much of my own period and, like Emanuel, at other times too. I have also received detailed memos from Mick Moore, Raphie Kaplinsky, Stephany Griffith-Jones, Charlie Harvey and Louis Emmerij, for some years an IDS Governor. I have also drawn on a history of the IDS Information Department, written by Geoff Barnard, who also gave me comments on an earlier draft. Thanks as well to Melissa Leach, who also read the earlier draft. Tommy Gee, founding Administrator of IDS, who served in this role for over 20 years, has sent me several memos about life before and during his time at IDS, including insights into the vision and progressive leadership shown by Andrew Cohen in Uganda, when Tommy Gee was one of his leading lieutenants. A dozen or so others – both academic staff and those from the information or administrative side of IDS, as well as some students – kindly completed questionnaires about their own experiences of IDS with their own assessments of its high points and low points. My thanks to all of them.

I owe special thanks to Ian Macauslan, an IDS graduate student on MPhil 05, who served as Research Assistant to the project, dug up much material from files and articles and also provided a fresh take on much of the history, including a first draft of the section on students. Thank you, Ian, for your help and stimulus.

Despite all this help, this version remains a personal history. It presents deliberately and disproportionately details of the Institute's early years, since this is the part which is more easily forgotten and ignored today. And my account emphasises, though not in my view disproportionately, the dominating influence of Dudley

Seers, both on IDS and on development studies worldwide from the 1960s to the 1980s and even today. I hope this history will stir not only interest and a few laughs but also provoke some thought, if not outrage, about what are seen to be my omissions, distortions or misinterpretations of the IDS record. I hope some will be motivated to write their own account. The full truth, it is sometimes said, may be too much to bear – but, hopefully, this is not the case for IDS.

Richard Jolly
r.jolly@ids.ac.uk

Acronyms

ADIPA	The Association of Development Research and Training Institutes of Asia and the Pacific
CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe
CLACSO	Latin American Council of Social Sciences
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DFID	Department for International Development
DSA	UK Development Studies Association
EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
HUMPAG	Human Resources Problem Area Group
IDA	International Development Association
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture and Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
INTERPAG	International Issues Problem Area Group
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NOPEC	non-OPEC countries
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PGPAG	Planning and Government Problem Area Group
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
QEH	Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
RUPAG	Rural Development Problem Area Group
SID	Society for International Development
SPRU	Science and Technology Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex
UK-DSA	UK Development Studies Association
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Part 1 Four decades of the ‘special institution’

1.1 The origins of IDS

India and Pakistan became independent in 1947, Sri Lanka in 1955, Sudan in 1956, Ghana and Malaysia in 1957. By 1962, more than a dozen former British colonies were independent – and many others were well on the way. It might seem curious therefore, that only in 1962 did the Bridges Committee recommend ‘further investigations’ into the possible need for a central training institution for administrators in developing countries. It took a further year before the UK Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries, meeting in London, accepted such a need and recommended action. In the words of Dudley Seers, ‘An efficient and honest public service was still believed to be a necessary, almost sufficient, condition for economic growth and social progress.’ Dudley added that ‘Unspoken, perhaps, was the thought that a place of training in Britain was necessary to maintain British influence overseas.’

Although there were already such training institutes in France, Germany and the Netherlands,¹ the idea was controversial and the Committee recommended further investigation. After extensive study in 1963 and 1964 by the Department of Technical Cooperation (DTC), the proposal was adopted in 1965, in spite of opposition from within the Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Office and the Board of Trade and the Treasury. It helped that Sir Andrew Cohen,² the forward-looking permanent secretary of the newly founded Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM)³ was an enthusiastic proponent, as was the Minister Barbara Castle and, of course, Dudley Seers, who had been appointed as Director General⁴

1 The Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Netherlands was set up in 1952, less than three years after Indonesia gained its independence in December 1949.

2 Sir Andrew Cohen, after whom the IDS building is named, was a big man – physically, morally and in the positions he held. As a young official in the colonial office in the 1930s, he made no secret of his socialist and egalitarian principles. As Governor of Uganda in the 1950s, he made Government House, his residence, a lively meeting place for a wide variety of Ugandan nationalists and intellectuals, with free-flowing intellectual discussion and often dancing, hardly typical at the time for those wearing the plumed headgear of a Queen’s representative in a British colony. Later he became the UK representative to the UN in New York before becoming, in 1964, the first permanent secretary of the newly created Ministry of Overseas Development with Barbara Castle as Minister and Dudley Seers as Director-General.

3 Founded as The Ministry of Overseas Development, the Ministry has changed its name and status a number of times over the last four decades. MOD, the acronym briefly used at first was soon dropped because of confusion with the Ministry of Defence, and ODM came in as the abbreviation. Later, the Ministry became the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), but this can get confused with Official Development Assistance. Throughout this document, I refer to DFID, the present acronym for the Department for International Development, which once again has a Minister, who is a member of the Cabinet.

4 Dudley himself describes his own occupation of the post as ‘an unusually flagrant political appointment for those days’. Dudley’s personal account of the politics – academic as well as political – behind the creation of IDS is fascinating and insightful, and can be found in the *IDS 10th Annual Report 1975/76*: 16–29.

when the newly elected Labour government created the Ministry in 1964. Dudley commented that successfully winning support from the Ministers of all the overseas departments (aside from the Foreign Office) showed what a determined politician could do. But one should add that the decision to create IDS would never have been achieved without this strategically placed triumvirate working as a whole.⁵

The triumvirate's effort was focused not just on the creation of a special institution, but also on where it was to be located. Oxford claimed it should be in Oxford, and lobbied hard, offering Queen Elizabeth House as a site. Counterclaims were made by the newly founded University of Sussex, elaborating the various ways in which the functions of the new institution would fit within the University's own innovative and pioneering plans and making a strong commitment to help develop the new institution as one of public administration and development. Eventually, the Ministry put forward its first White Paper announcing 'a major initiative': there would be a new institution and it would be at Sussex. Even this announcement was held up for some weeks by opposition from other government departments – and by the rapidly developing foreign exchange crisis. But as Dudley explains, 'The document was suddenly cleared by a Wilsonian masterstroke – he put it to the Cabinet when they were on the point of adjourning for lunch – and rushed into print.'⁶

1.2 Off with a bang!

The first five years of IDS involved an astonishing burst of activity. Tommy Gee was appointed as Administrator from the beginning with Richard Symonds as Acting Director for the first nine months. Tommy Gee had been one of Cohen's young idealistic colonial administrators in Uganda, eventually becoming Permanent Secretary of the Uganda Ministry of Education immediately before and after Uganda's independence in 1962.⁷

5 Hans Singer, in the *IDS Silver Jubilee Annual Report* of 1990, gives his own account of the 'Prehistory of the IDS – Some Selective Reflections'. Hans puts much emphasis on several informal meetings between Dudley, himself and myself, in Addis Ababa in 1963 (where the three of us were working for the Economic Commission for Africa), following the publication of the Bridges report and before the election of the Labour government a year later. Hans also emphasised a memorandum prepared in October 1963 by John Fulton, Vice-Chancellor of Sussex, setting out the benefits to the proposed special institution if it were to be located in Sussex. A year later, in a further submission entitled 'The Special Institution Recast', Sussex argued strongly for a shift from training to research and teaching, particularly research into economic development.

6 *Ibid.*: 19.

7 Tommy with his wife Anne, an accomplished singer of opera, were a central part of the IDS community until he retired in 1984. Tommy not only led the IDS administration over its first two decades but maintained his strong interest in Uganda and Africa and was a strong promoter of the necessity of first-hand involvement in grassroots development. This led him to take a sabbatical to work in the University of Fiji in 1969–71 as well as several other shorter assignments abroad. When he retired, Tommy went for a final stint as Registrar in the University of Papua New Guinea, Anne singing and teaching all the way...

Tommy and Richard got the Institute off the ground, for the first 15 months within the university,⁸ then in Stanmer House in Stanmer Park next to the university campus. By October 1967, Dudley Seers was in place as the first Director, Paul Streeten had become Deputy Director, ten Fellows had been appointed,⁹ along with ten other research staff,¹⁰ and the Library had been established. More important, some of the early tracks of IDS research had been laid down – the structural approach of Dudley Seers, the village studies project of Michael Lipton, the over-ambitious Kosi experiment in linear programming at village level of Len Joy, work on aid and technical assistance and the computerised development game of Clive Bell, a pioneering venture for those days.

A torrent of publications on these and many other topics poured forth. Nine Fellows joined together to produce the first book from IDS, a Penguin publication designed to reach a wide audience. This was edited by Dudley Seers and Len Joy (Seers and Joy 1971) and presented the first IDS perspective on development, *Development in a Divided World*. It opened with an analysis of the international situation, identified poverty reduction and accelerated economic development as the two main national priorities and then explored what this would involve by way of national development strategies and international development action and support. Even the treatment of international policy is worth noting: trade and investment was put first, aid second and ‘the total relationship’ last. Though long out of print, this book still apparently sells the occasional copy. I received a 6p payment of royalties while writing this account.

Equally important, IDS was already reaching out widely to groups within the developing countries and within the UK. A founding conference was held in autumn 1966, followed by a series of other conferences in 1967 and 1968 – on science and technology in development, the fourth Indian five-year plan, private overseas investment, UNCTAD II, the politics of development, agricultural cooperation, and technical assistance by volunteers. ‘The Crisis in Planning’ became an important conference and a major publication, challenging much of the conventional wisdom on the importance of macro-economic planning in newly independent countries (Seers and Faber 1971).

Dudley set the stage for rethinking development planning in his opening article in the first copy of *IDS Bulletin*, which began:

8 Initially, IDS was housed for three months in Essex House of the university, then for a year in Lancaster House.

9 Brian van Arkadie, Ronald Dore, Len Joy, Colin Leys, Michael Lipton, Bernard Schaffer, Richard Symonds and myself. Michael Lipton and Colin Leys had joint appointments with Sussex University. Hans Singer had been appointed and would arrive in early 1969, and David Lehmann later the same year. John Shaw was a Visiting Fellow in the first year of IDS. Paul Streeten left later in 1968 to become Warden of Queen Elizabeth House in Oxford. Mike Rogers joined as Librarian, succeeding Una Nottage, the Institute’s first Librarian – and stayed until his retirement in 1987.

10 Of the research staff during the first five years, two remained for most of the Institute’s first 40 years, playing ever more active roles and becoming full professors: Mick Moore joined IDS in 1969 and Raphie Kaplinsky in 1972/3. Raphie left IDS in 2006 to take up a professorship at the Open University.

The 1960s could well be called the decade of disillusion. The development plans prepared in many countries, often with the help of highly sophisticated economists, have proved of limited use as guides to policy decisions. They were very largely government investment programmes. Most of us working for governments have come, however, even if slowly and reluctantly, to realise that what holds up development is not only, or even primarily, lack of capital but systems of education or land tenure, politicians unwilling or unable to change the social structure, administrative systems which are archaic or nepotistic ...

(Seers 1968)

A number of 'study seminars' on policy issues were mounted for officials from developing countries in the first few years. These covered topics such as aid and trade, rural development, employment, education and manpower and, somewhat ahead of the agenda of the time, on population growth and population policies. In parallel, but separately, were four Aid Administration seminars for British civil servants.

The *IDS Bulletin* was launched in June 1968 and within two years had built up a circulation of 2,500. It had a very different structure from today's model. The early issues had four sections – an opening report on one of the major IDS research projects, then a discussion of some major problem in development, third a review article or presentation by outside specialists, and lastly a report of IDS activities, along the lines of what later became the IDS Annual Report. Dudley Seers' opening article in Volume 1, No 1 was entitled, 'From Colonial Economics to Development Studies'. The issue also contained a review of Gunnar Myrdal's classic study *Asian Drama* by Tommy Balogh, one of the first members of the Governing Body. The issue also contained a review entitled 'The Scrutable East'. The second *IDS Bulletin* reported a symposium on development aid with contributions by Harry G. Johnson, the distinguished economist, and by the controversial MP, Enoch Powell, among others. By the fourth *IDS Bulletin*, some of what was to become IDS style was already visible, in a series of articles on 'development myths', dismantling the neglect of history, the neglect of inequality, confusions about the population explosion, and various misguided beliefs about planning, rural development, trade and aid. This *Bulletin* emphasised that 'one of the persistent myths of development is that "we" know what is good for "them".' Not bad for the first two years of IDS.

Stanmer House provided grand if temporary premises, with Georgian elegance and chandeliers in the main conference room. But IDS soon outgrew the space. Within the first two years, staff numbers had grown from 2 to 49. The Library had been established and publications were pouring in as a consequence of the Library having been accepted as a depository for United Nations (UN) and other official publications. By early 1970, the present IDS building had been completed and IDS moved to its permanent home on the campus. But even this proved too small and the present octagon (with offices for research staff) and teaching rooms had to be added, opening in 1974. An extra floor was built on to the IDS Library in 1988.

In 1969 two international reports were issued with important implications for development policy. One of these was the *UN Study of the Capacity of the UN Development System*, proposing measures for strengthening and integrating the

UN's development operations. This was the so-called 'Jackson report' named after Robert ('Jacko') Jackson, the dynamic and outspoken Australian, who drafted the document with Margaret Joan Anstee.¹¹ David Owen, the UN's first development economist, provided a review article of this two-volume study for the *IDS Bulletin*. While agreeing with many of Jackson's proposals, David Owen expressed disappointment with the report's limited approach to the relationship between economic policy and aid.

The other report was that of the Pearson Commission on International Development, *Partners in Development* (Pearson 1969). This was potentially a ground-breaking document, being the first time an international commission had been created to explore international development issues.¹² The Pearson Commission, chaired by Lester Pearson, the former prime minister of Canada, had been constituted at the invitation of Robert McNamara, the newly elected President of the World Bank, to assess the results of 20 years of development assistance and to propose new policies for the future. The *IDS Bulletin* of December 1969 contained four articles on the Pearson Report, together with an analysis of press comments on how the report had been received.

The Pearson Report was to have far-reaching implications for the Institute's reputation and contacts. Barbara Ward, a close friend and adviser to McNamara (and later an IDS Governor), approached Dudley Seers to suggest the names of some younger persons in development who could attend a week-long conference in the USA to discuss the report and its proposals. She wanted 'the next generation', she said, not just the old faces. Dudley proposed the names of perhaps 20 people from all over the world, including several of us from IDS. This made for lively debate in the conference and in the process of drafting a conference statement in response to the report. This statement became the Williamsburg Declaration underlining the many inadequacies of the report and the need for much bolder approaches to development. Somewhat to the surprise of the 5 or 6 of us who did the drafting, the Declaration received the support and signatures of all but a handful of the 140 conference participants. Even more important, however, the conference created a new network of people active in development that lasted for two or three decades. This network included Mahbub ul Haq, Gerry Helleiner, Enrique Iglesias and, from IDS, Reg Green and myself, as well of course, as Dudley Seers and Hans Singer. There were at least a dozen others at the conference who by then had or would later develop links with IDS, often as Governors or Visiting Fellows. So IDS, as a home for outspoken views and work on development, began to be known worldwide.

11 Further accounts of the report and its mixed reception can be found in the biography, *Jacko - Where Are You Now? A Life of Robert Jackson*, by James Gibson (2006) and the autobiography of Joan Anstee, *Never Learn to Type: A Woman in the United Nations* (2003). A more comprehensive account will be found in Craig Murphy (2006).

12 Earlier international initiatives had included three high-level panels on development issues set up by the UN in 1949 and 1951 and the creation in 1966 of the UN's Committee on Development Planning, chaired by Jan Tinbergen, who in 1969 was to be the first recipient of the Nobel Prize in Economics.

The early issues of *IDS Bulletin* reported on the first round of research themes and interests: public administrative training, the computer-simulated development game, the medical brain-drain into Britain, manpower aid, planning irrigation and farming systems, private initiatives for development, diplomas for development, rural change in Tanzania, entrepreneurship in Ghana, the village studies programme, the effectiveness of technical assistance, conflict and dependence. Increasingly, the *IDS Bulletin* presented policy debates among IDS Fellows, research staff and others from the development community outside, rather than the results of fully-fledged research projects.

By September 1971, the end of the first quinquennium (the Institute's first 5-year funding and planning period), Dudley Seers could report 'the emergence of a pattern'. Characteristically, he began with several elements of self-criticism: IDS had so far shown a lack of coordination in its activities, there was too little feedback from its research and overseas missions into its teaching, and there was not 'very much of a reality' in its interdisciplinary cooperation. Partly because of this, and the lack of time, IDS had 'Not yet made the contribution to development theory of which such a powerful team of Fellows should be capable.' He added, however, a warning shot to bureaucrats watching from Whitehall:

This does not imply that Fellows would have made a greater contribution if compelled to follow a rigid pattern of work. To get the most out of highly original social scientists needs a great deal of flexibility and scope for individual initiative.¹³

1.3 Welcome the PAGS

In fact, IDS had for several years been working within a structure which, with modifications of themes, would last with few changes to the late 1980s, if not a bit longer. Four Problem Area Groups – PAGs – were created in 1969: HUMPAG, INTERPAG, PGPAG, and RUPAG focused respectively on human resources, international issues, planning and government, and rural development. ('Humbug' was sometimes used as the more colloquial and generic title for all the groups.) Each group was intended to develop its own internal coherence by defining priority problems within its areas and then work out how the group might develop research 'for solving them' and, at the same time, explore links with work in other groups.

Not surprisingly, this ambition mostly exceeded the achievement and endless debate, much time, some laughter and a good deal of frustration went into the process of hammering out programmes for the Board of Studies to approve and that were sufficiently coherent to serve as the basis for an application to DFID for a second quinquennium grant. The positive side was that Fellows contributed very substantively to the Institute's policymaking, a process reinforced by declaring the months of October and November as a 'closed season', during which travel abroad

13 *IDS Fifth Annual Report 1971/2*, Brighton: IDS: 1–2.

was strongly discouraged so as to make time for concentrated participation in the annual review and future planning of IDS activities. A similar process was used in the early 1970s to map out the approach, structure and content of the first MPhil course on development.

Within each of the PAGs, several research themes dominated. After the first 10 years, IDS published a summary of the results emerging from this research in each of the areas, together with a perspective on future research themes to be tackled.¹⁴ It would take too much space to summarise all this here. Even today, I am struck by the range of issues tackled in each of the areas and the substantive nature of the publications produced.

HUMPAG, for example, produced two books on population issues by Richard Symonds with Michael Carder and by Robert Cassen, a comprehensive report on manpower plans in 38 African countries by Richard Jolly and Chris Colclough, and a book on industrial relations in Britain and Japan by Ronald Dore as the basis for exploring differences and similarities in the experience of late developers. There had also been a book on technical assistance in Senegal by Rita Cruise O'Brien. And this was only some of the completed work. Current research had already moved on – to healthcare in Ghana and India with Malcolm Segall and Emanuel de Kadt among others and to the impact of plantation agriculture in Senegal by Maureen Mackintosh. Several projects dealing with education and employment had been launched, by Ron Dore with Angela Little and John Oxenham, a topic which was to become a major focus for IDS work.

The INTERPAG group reported the results of their first 10 years: a book on international targets for development, a substantive report on the contribution of capital transfers to development, and another on post-colonial trends in the patterns of imports into developing countries. But some projects had 'struck a sourer note' – the brain-drain, the limitations of technical assistance and growing concerns with internal income inequality. Most of the research showed, the group suggested, that without conscious policy to offset them, relations between rich and poor countries normally work to the disadvantage of the latter.

Technology was an important dimension of this work, often jointly with SPRU, the Science Policy Research Unit of the university.¹⁵ There had been studies by Charles Cooper and Raphie Kaplinsky on second-hand equipment in jute processing, by Robin Murray on technology transfer into Ethiopia, and by Constantine Vaitsos on transnational enterprises and inter-country income distribution. Future plans continued work on technology and commodity studies (copper and bananas, involving Carlos Fortin and Frank Ellis), but also brought in new themes, such as broadcasting and communications (Rita Cruise O'Brien), plus development and the environment, and factors affecting public sector salaries policy in Africa (Martin Godfrey).

14 *IDS Tenth Annual Report 1975/6*, Brighton: IDS.

15 SPRU was the sister institute of IDS on the Sussex campus. It is now the Science and Technology Policy Research Unit.

The focus of the planning and government group had also evolved, placing more emphasis on issues of 'politics and change', and less on the ability of post-colonial systems of public administration to promote change directed to development. From this shift in focus emerged Geoff Lamb's *Peasant Politics* (Lamb 1974), Robert Chambers's *Managing Rural Development* (Chambers 1974), and Raymond Apthorpe's *People, Planning and Development Studies* (Apthorpe 1970), as well as a study on *Development Policy in Small Countries* by Percy Selwyn (Selwyn 1975) and one on *Regional Development Banks* by John White (White 1970).

The review of research by RUPAG was perhaps the most outspoken. This began: 'Three decades of unprecedented "growth" have been accompanied in most poor countries by stagnating mass welfare. Most commentators now agree that development policies must shift attention – and scarce resources – to the efficient reduction of poverty.' The rural development group argued that this put a special onus on work in rural areas and cited several studies that their group had produced: Bagicha Minhas's *Planning and the Poor* (Minhas 1974), Scarlett Epstein's *South India: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Epstein 1973) and Michael Lipton's magnum opus, *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development*.

The RUPAG team had engaged in two major studies, each involving two or three Fellows and a number of research staff. The Kosi Programme involved fieldwork in Bihar, India, which ranged widely over issues of poverty, nutrition, population, landholding, agrarian structure, farmer behaviour, tubewell irrigation, public works and family planning and involved case studies of development administration and resource allocation. The project had begun with an enormously ambitious methodology – to construct a linear programme model of how all these factors interacted and could efficiently be brought together for planning and policy. The ambition vastly exceeded IDS capacity at the time – as it probably would today. A final study salvaged many of the component findings of the project, even if it could not produce the quantitative results hoped for at the outset.

The IDS village studies project (VSP) was the brainchild of Michael Lipton and was pioneering in thinking and perspective. Instead of generalising about countries as the basic unit for development studies, the VSP argued that for most poor people in rural areas, the type of village in which they lived was the critical unit: was it a village producing wheat or rice, with rain-fed production or irrigation, with out-migration or in-migration? What generalisations could be made about development experience within villages? Over 2,000 village studies were collected and analysed, about half from India, the rest from villages in other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A two-volume general bibliography was published along with more specialised analytical studies on nutrition, labour utilisation, and migration. Biplab Dasgupta prepared a separate typology of the Indian village studies.

1.4 Study seminars, courses on aid – and SS15

As mentioned, the main forms of teaching at the beginning of IDS were study seminars, mostly for government officials from developing countries along with shorter courses for aid administrators and diplomatic staff of the UK government. The seminar titles echo preoccupations of the late 1960s – Implementing

Development Plans; Employment, Education and Manpower; Project Evaluation and Planning, Population Control; Local Administration for Development, and Finance and Resources for Economic Development. Such seminars continued as a major part of IDS training into the 1980s, though the topics shifted and the courses became shorter. Initially, most of the seminars were five or six weeks long and some – for instance, the IDS Development Course, which included many options – lasted three months. But gradually, the difficulty of recruiting good participants for such periods meant that the study seminars came down to three weeks. Nonetheless, by the end of the first decade, 1,265 persons from all over the developing world had been to IDS as participants in study seminars – 365 from sub-Saharan Africa, 200 from Latin America, 199 from South Asia, 162 from the Middle East, 80 from the Caribbean, 38 from the Pacific, and 44 from developed countries and UN agencies. This was a further reason why knowledge of IDS and its reputation grew rapidly.

Courses for aid administrators and diplomats had become less of a feature by the second quinquennium by which time the topics for study seminars had also become more closely linked to IDS research. In 1973 for example, study seminars were held on the costs and benefits of foreign aid, problems of education planning, the social and economic consequences of the new seeds, public personnel policies and administrative reform, land tenure, distribution and reform, economic incentives and the distribution of rural income, strategies for increasing employment in Africa, and finances and the resources for economic development.

It was SS15 – Study Seminar 15 on The State Corporation – which caused the biggest stir in the Institute's early years. The seminar's Director was Brian van Arkadie, a Fellow, who, under the arrangements of the time, was responsible for preparing brochures to be sent around the world advertising the course and indicating the issues to be covered. Many of these brochures were distributed through UK high commissions and embassies. In the case of SS15, the brochure said that the seminar would explore policies concerning the desirable size of the public sector, including issues relating to 'the nationalisation of foreign-owned enterprises' and problems involved in minimising compensation. A few weeks after the brochures had been distributed, these references to nationalisation were spotted by staff in two of the British embassies and a question was tabled in the House of Commons: 'Was it government policy for public funds to be used so that IDS could teach foreigners how to nationalise British firms?', or words to that effect. Pandemonium broke loose and the Minister, Judith Hart, a supportive friend of IDS, was exceedingly embarrassed. IDS was given to understand by DFID that if IDS took no action, the quinquennial grant might be in danger. Within IDS, DFID's heavy-handed approach immediately raised issues of academic freedom: surely IDS was not going to give in to pressure which would place limits on development issues that clearly needed to be discussed? Tempers flared and SS15 became a touchstone of IDS integrity as an academic institution.

Dudley sent Emanuel de Kadt, then Deputy Director, off to negotiate with DFID. The conversations, as much as he recalls, were certainly awkward. DFID's opening gambit was that SS15 should be cancelled or, at least, that the brochure should be withdrawn and rewritten with no mention of nationalisation. In the end, and after much further discussion and negotiation, it was agreed that the seminar should go

ahead but without UK government support. In the end, 15 persons attended from 8 developing countries, all supported by their governments or by non-UK government funding.¹⁶

More important, the SS15 affair helped to clarify the critical issue of IDS autonomy and academic independence, in spite of its heavy reliance on UK government funding. It was agreed that in future the IDS Board of Studies would consider and approve all proposals for study seminars, including the main topics to be covered and key points of content. DFID, which appointed two members of the Board, would agree to finance the teaching programme as a whole, once it had been approved by the Board. Dudley commented that:

[w]ith willingness on both sides, the new procedures should be workable. We [IDS] appreciate that DFID is accountable to Parliament for the funds it spends on training awards. I trust that any British Minister would also accept that, in this inevitably controversial field, we could hardly treat as an over-riding constraint, the need to avoid embarrassing the government of the day.¹⁷

The agreement did broadly work and the Institute's need for academic independence was never again challenged. For an institute depending so much on government funding, this is an important point to recognise and to record. DFID representatives on the Board of Studies did on two or three subsequent occasions object to proposed themes for seminars, indicating that if they went ahead, the Ministry would not wish to provide support for that seminar. One such objection is ironic with hindsight. Bernard Schaffer proposed in 1975 that IDS should hold a study seminar on the theme of administrative reform and corruption. This proposal initially met with opposition from DFID on the grounds that corruption was not a proper subject for development studies, and was particularly inappropriate for a study seminar with participants from developing countries. Apparently, corruption, like sex, was something that should simply not be talked about in public, even if it unfortunately took place behind the scenes. Happily, the study seminar went ahead and was held in Malta. It serves as a good reminder of how much views on development can and do change.

1.5 Graduate teaching

In addition to the study courses, IDS had begun teaching students almost from the beginning, as IDS Fellows supervised DPhil candidates at the University of Sussex. An extra quota of 40 students had been agreed for candidates in development studies, in addition to those previously accepted in disciplinary studies at the university.

16 The 1971/72 *Annual Report* records that 'Particular case studies were very revealing of the difficulties to be overcome and the possible tactics available in using state enterprise as a means of combating foreign economic dominance. The format chosen was particularly useful in understanding the problems of a number of countries who have recently undertaken nationalisation programmes and the approaches will hopefully be of help to countries wishing to pursue such policies in the future' (p.48).

17 *IDS Fourth Annual Report 1969/70*, Brighton: IDS: 5.

Although the limit was four students per Fellow, by 1968, some 23 graduate students were being supervised, including some that would later return to the Institute, such as Clive Bell, Oscar Gish, Geoff Lamb, Martin Staniland, and Geof Wood. (Professor Cristobel Kay was the first student at IDS to get a DPhil, in early 1971, having been supervised by Dudley Seers and examined by Maurice Dobb of Cambridge and Ann Zamit. Christobel Kay's thesis was on 'The Development of Capitalism in the Chilean Agricultural Sector'.) By the next year, the numbers had grown to 30, and after a review of the teaching programme by Guy Hunter, an additional Fellow was appointed to coordinate teaching. Already there were concerns that the graduate programme at Sussex focused too much on economics, and so Bernard Schaffer (comparative politics) and Emanuel de Kadt (sociology of development) joined Len Joy (development economics) as Associate Directors of Studies. By 1972 increasing numbers of students were using the IDS Library, and DPhil candidates had included Ed Clay (supervised by Len Joy), Chris Colclough (Richard Jolly) and Oded Stark (Michael Lipton). Ten years later, some 80 graduate students were being supervised by IDS Fellows and since the beginning of IDS, some 30 had completed doctorates – many going into teaching development studies in Britain and abroad.

1.6 Reaching out beyond IDS

From the beginning, IDS, as a national centre, felt – and had been given – obligations to the wider community of those engaged in development studies in Britain and beyond. Several initiatives were taken. A group of up to 75 Associates was created, mostly of academics working in development studies in other universities in Britain. There was also a category of up to 30 Whitehall Associates, officials in ODM, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and elsewhere who had involvements with developing countries. After a year or two, some Associates complained that the category was virtually meaningless – and a few efforts were made to offer them benefits such as use of the IDS Library and short rent-free stays in IDS accommodation. Nonetheless, the category of research associate did little more than make fellow workers in development somewhat jealous of the privileged position of IDS, its quinquennial grant and its freedom from normal teaching obligations.

More important were the initiatives IDS took to build a network among individuals and institutions engaged in development studies in Britain and to strengthen the field of development research.¹⁸ In 1971, IDS held the first national conference on development studies at Sussex, with some 200 social scientists participating. For this, a *Development Studies UK Research Register* was compiled listing some 400 research projects. Two years later, the second such conference was held in East Anglia – and the foundations had been laid for what became in 1978 the Development Studies Association of the UK (UK-DSA). Equally important, the network soon expanded into other parts of Europe. At the second national conference, held in East Anglia in 1973 with IDS support, some 25 participants from outside the UK attended. A brief organisational meeting was held on the last

18 A network already existed for directors of special courses for overseas students.

afternoon for these people. Within two years this led to what became EADI, the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, which began with a founding meeting in Ghent in 1974 and now brings together nearly 200 institutional and 200 individual members from nearly 30 countries in Europe.¹⁹

A third initiative took place in IDS in 1973. This consisted of a small meeting of five of us to work out principles for relations between research institutions and research workers in developed and developing countries. All five were already well connected with research networks: Samir Amin as head of CODESRIA, the research association for Africa; Enrique Oteiza, head of CLACSO, the research association for Latin America; Ponna Wignaraja of ADIPA, the research association for Asia; Gulio Fossi with the Office for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Development Centre in Paris; and myself, by then Director of IDS. The resulting report set out *New Forms of Collaboration in Development Research and Training*.²⁰ This short booklet called for a reorientation of research and training, the strengthening of Southern research and training capability and changes in rich country policies. Establishing a new basis for collaboration was the key issue – to ensure that collaboration was mutually beneficial and not extremely unequal, that the locus of decision-making and control shifted from research and funding institutions in the North towards those in the South, especially in establishing research and training priorities. The booklet also called for more work on the policies and activities of the rich countries which affect and compound the difficulties of poor countries, and for Southern social scientists to be given facilities for field research within the rich countries, parallel to developed-country social scientists doing research within the South.

1.7 The ILO employment missions

By a series of fortunate chances, the most high-profile activities with which IDS was linked in its early years took place outside the Institute and, initially at least, outside its planning process. These were the three ILO employment missions of 1970, 1971 and 1972. To mark its 50th anniversary in 1969, the ILO, the International Labour Organization, had solemnly declared that it would inaugurate a World Employment Programme (WEP). Only after the ILO's governing body had made this declaration did serious discussion begin as to what such a WEP might involve. The idea soon emerged that the ILO should support some high-level pilot missions to a small group of countries to investigate the nature of the employment problems they faced and to make recommendations for policy. Colombia's President Lleras Restrepo expressed strong support for the proposal so, not surprisingly, Colombia was chosen for the first mission, with Dudley Seers as the leader. In early 1970, Dudley assembled an international team of 27, including representatives of 10 UN agencies in addition to the ILO, a variety of other international 'experts', plus Emanuel de Kadt and myself from IDS.

19 The role of Gulio Fossi of the OECD Development Centre should also be mentioned. He was for well over a quarter of a century a key figure in bringing together development researchers from all over the world.

20 This has recently been reprinted as part of Elaine Petitot-Cote (1999).

The ILO Colombia Report, *Towards Fuller Employment*, focused on three overlapping but conceptually different employment problems – lack of employment opportunities, low and unreliable incomes, and under-utilised labour – and on income inequality as a common and pervasive cause of each of them. The report created a certain stir, not least in the ILO itself, by drawing attention to the way minimum wage legislation and other regulations linked to the ILO's labour conventions often compounded these employment problems. Not surprisingly, this was an extremely controversial message within the ILO. In fact, some within the ILO strongly urged that the draft report not be published. This affirmed Dudley's wisdom in making a condition of his acceptance to lead the mission that he and the team would have 'complete discretion in how they went about their task and framed their conclusions'. Fortunately, common sense prevailed within the ILO and the Colombia employment report was published, to much acclaim.

Notwithstanding the controversy in some quarters of the ILO, a year later Dudley was asked to lead the next mission to Ceylon. This time Dudley included several others from IDS – Ron Dore, Michael Lipton, Raphie Kaplinsky, Duccio Turin (an IDS Associate), Oscar Braun (a former Fellow), KN Raj (a founding Governor), and myself. The Ceylon report, *Matching Employment Expectations and Opportunities*, focused on the imbalances between education, job opportunities and incentives, emphasising the mismatch between them in ways which eventually emerged as unemployment and widespread social frustrations, especially among youth.

Yet another employment mission, the ILO's third, took place the following year, to Kenya, this time with Hans Singer and myself as joint chiefs of mission. By this point a certain formula had been established, including having a core of IDS staff. In the case of Kenya, Charles Cooper (then jointly with SPRU and IDS), John Weeks, Dorothy Remy and John Anderson of Sussex were full-time members, with Duccio Turin and Dudley joining part-time. In addition, we broke somewhat from the formula by having a number of Kenyans as full members of the mission – not just as consultants or advisers – and almost half of the whole team had lived and worked in Kenya for several years at least.

The Kenya mission report, *Employment Incomes and Equality*, made a big impact on development thinking in the 1970s and was much cited in the literature. In large part this was because of three pioneering elements in the report:

- the focus on the informal sector, for the first time in an international report and only months after Keith Hart had given a seminar in IDS on the findings of his original work on the informal sector in Ghana;²¹

21 Keith Hart had made a presentation on 'Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana' in IDS in September 1971 at a conference co-organised by Rita Cruise O'Brien and myself on urban employment in Africa. The date is significant since 1973, the year when Keith Hart's article was first in print, came after the publication of the ILO report. It has therefore sometimes been suggested that the ILO got there first. Keith Hart's work came first and was clearly an inspiration for the ILO Kenya report and much of the ILO's other work on the informal sector.

- the spotlight on poverty as the critical problem underlying employment issues, and on strategy to reduce poverty as the priority issue for development policy;
- the strategy of redistribution with growth, the special contribution of Hans Singer as the integrating theme for the whole report.

This report also received attention in the World Bank and had a direct impact on the thinking and work of Hollis Chenery, then Vice-President, and on Robert McNamara, then President. It had a specific influence on McNamara's major speech on poverty reduction, given at the Bank's annual meeting in Nairobi in 1973, a speech which stands in the words of the World Bank's historians, 'as the greatest articulation of his pro-poor teaching ...'.²²

Before moving on, one must add some further points about the Kenya report and its links with IDS. First, part of the positive reception for the report in Kenya was due to the very close links with the government during the whole of the mission, which in turn owed much to Philip Ndegwa, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Philip Ndegwa was a distinguished Kenya economist and an old friend of Hans Singer and myself as well as others of the mission. Philip became a Governor of IDS in 1977.

In spite of some scepticism about missions,²³ the Kenya report could never be dismissed as a document which simply gathered dust on some shelf. Within a year or so, the Kenya government had published *Sessional Paper Number 10 on Employment* setting out how it proposed to follow up the report's recommendations, and 20,000 copies of the report were sold or distributed, many within Kenya. The ILO itself commissioned Martin Godfrey to prepare an evaluation of implementation. The result was a somewhat mixed review, reporting a number of recommendations which the Kenya government had taken seriously and a number which they had effectively ignored.²⁴ Recent work on income inequality in Kenya suggests that the ideas of the Kenya ILO report are being re-discovered (Kanyinga 2006).

There were several strong critiques, however, of the report's main message – that a strategy of redistribution from growth would enable Kenya to make accelerated progress in reducing poverty. Colin Leys praised much of the analysis of the report but stated, 'The obvious puzzle presented by these proposals is what incentive the mission thought all these groups – the heart and soul of the alliance of domestic and foreign capital – might have for making such sacrifices', the sacrifices which a redistributive strategy would require. Leys reinforced this point by adding more pointedly, 'What did the mission think would induce the Kenyatta regime to do in the 1970s what it not only had not done, but had destroyed its opponents for advocating in the 1960s?' (Leys 1975: 262).

22 Kapur, Lewis and Webb (1997) – IDS is mentioned in the *World Bank History*: 227–8, 413 and 1207.

23 David Wall, an economist of the University of Sussex, published one of the sceptical articles under the title, 'The New Missionaries'.

24 Recently, the Regional Office of the Society of International Development in Nairobi has published SID, 2006. This returns to a number of themes first set out in the ILO Kenya Report.

Other missions were mounted by ILO to other countries – Sudan, Philippines, etc. – and the ILO prepared a synthesis of the findings, which became the basic document for the World Employment Conference of 1976. This document put forward the basic needs strategy, which was greeted with enthusiasm at the conference and later adopted by McNamara of the World Bank who tried to steer the operational departments in this direction. ‘By the end of the 1970s it looked as though a more appropriate development strategy had been designed that effectively combined economic growth, productive employment and basic needs.’²⁵ IDS had played a major part in this.

Although the ILO Employment Missions had by far the highest profile, they were by no means the only operational activities in which IDS Fellows were involved. Almost from the beginning, IDS staff had taken part in many technical assistance and consulting activities. In the second year of IDS, Fellows were involved in 11 countries and for 8 international agencies. During the last year of the first decade, 9 IDS staff were on long-term assignments of a year, 16 more had taken part in short-term country-focused assignments and about 10 others had been involved in other short-term advisory assignments, many for or supported by UN agencies.

1.8 The second quinquennium: major developments

The Institute’s second quinquennium began in September 1971. More than anyone realised at the time, the two or three years which followed were ones of profound changes in the world and in IDS. Internationally, three events brought major changes to IDS: the *coup d’état* in Chile in 1973, which killed Allende and installed General Pinochet as president; the three-and-a-half-fold increases in oil prices in 1973–4, which showed the muscle of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the cartel of the oil-producing developing countries and which, for a few years in the mid-1970s, stimulated hopes of more serious shifts in power towards developing countries and thus some restructuring of the global economy; and the redefining and enlarging of the development agenda, through a series of UN global conferences during the 1970s.²⁶

Internally, within IDS, there were also important changes, again with major impacts on its long-term focus and operations far beyond what was realised at the time. I would identify three which seem to me the most important: the launch in

25 This is the conclusion of Louis Emmerij, who headed the WEP from 1970–76. Louis wrote the chapter ‘Employment Creation and Basic Needs’, which summarises the story, in Emmerij, Jolly and Weiss (2001: 60–79).

26 Many other important national and international events of the 1970s might, of course, be mentioned: the abandonment of the Bretton Woods agreement in 1971 and the floating of the dollar; the end of the Vietnam War in 1975; and Britain’s economic and financial crisis of 1976, ending only with the negotiation of a loan from the International Monetary Fund in 1976. There were also various dramatic events and reversals of development strategy in key developing countries – for instance, the assassination of Mrs Gandhi in India in 1974, the evolution of socialist strategy in Tanzania, led by Julius Nyerere, the death of Mao in China and the beginnings of the Deng Xiao reforms, and the ending of military rule in Brazil.

1973 of the MPhil course in development, establishing for the first time a formal IDS involvement with graduate teaching; the organisation by Robert Chambers of a conference on seasonality, which can be seen as one of the seeds that grew into a whole tree of studies and action on participatory development; and the appointment of Kate Young to a Fellowship, which established gender studies in IDS and led to the creation of the collective on the Subordination of Women (SOW), and networks on gender extending well outside IDS. The launch of the MPhil graduate course in development changed the whole character and dynamics of the Institute, and participatory development and gender studies are now, three decades later, among the major defining areas of its work and reputation.

A fourth change was that Dudley ceased to be Director and I was appointed as his successor, which changed my life, if not too much that of the Institute. Dudley, whose five-year appointment was coming to an end in August 1972, announced that he would like to continue in IDS as a Fellow but not as Director. The Fellowship was thrown into consternation and we all tried in every way we could to get Dudley to change his mind, but to no avail. And, failing Dudley, I became, among the Fellows at least, the internal candidate of choice to succeed him. But I myself was extremely reluctant, less through false modesty but with what I saw, and still see, as an objective judgement: Dudley was the brightest star of IDS, and his leadership – intellectual and organisational – had already made IDS what it had become. Far better, therefore, that he should continue as Director.

Dudley's reluctance continued but eventually I persuaded him to continue on the basis that we could be appointed as joint Directors. The idea was that we would hold the job in rotation, with only one of us being Director at any one time. This, I argued, was a reasonable proposal because, as Dudley knew, we largely shared common thinking about IDS. The proposed arrangement would have the enormous advantage that it would enable the person who was not currently Director to concentrate on some substantive work, especially work which involved being in the South. So the arrangement was agreed between us – and, when the Director's post was advertised, we submitted a joint application.

This then threw the Governing Body into confusion. They had advertised for one candidate to follow Dudley and they were now receiving a joint application from two. Eventually, they agreed to consider the application providing that I would state that there were at least some circumstances in which I would consider being appointed on my own. When it came to the interview, I was asked about the proposal. The Governing Body panel began by saying that they had never heard of such an unworkable arrangement. I replied that the Roman Empire had been ruled by two consuls for many years. This led one of the panel to retort, 'but Rome fell!' which led me to comment 'but only after five centuries'. 'Moreover', I added, 'if IDS lasted for 500 years, it would probably be too long.' (On reflection, my comment shows how far we were from thinking of IDS as an Oxbridge college.)

At any rate, the panel eventually decided that there would have to be one Director, not two. The post was offered initially to Sidney Dell, a distinguished British economist at the UN and known well to Hans and Dudley – but he declined for family reasons. The post was then offered to me and I became Director, from September 1972 and, after a renewal in 1977, until the end of 1981.

This was not the only unusual feature of appointments procedures within IDS during its early years. Despite having a quinquennial grant, modelled on the University Grants Committee (UGC), IDS saw itself as different and pioneering. So every year, the Fellows had a vote about tenure – and every year the votes *against* tenure carried the day, even though tenure was routine in universities at the time. This meant that every five years, the appointment of each Fellow came up for consideration and even, for a year or two, for advertisement in the national press. The process of advertising all IDS posts, even those with a sitting incumbent, was soon dropped however, notably because of the many complaints from other institutions when they learned that one of the positions being advertised was that held by Dudley himself.²⁷ This led to a variation in procedures whereby the Fellow in any post was first considered for renewal and then only if the person was considered unsuitable for reappointment would the post be advertised.

We need to return to the events of the early 1970s. The overthrow of Allende in Chile had an exceptional impact on IDS during that period – on its thinking, on its staffing and on its reputation and influence. Following the election of Allende in 1970, IDS had been observing developments in Chile with very close interest – as an example of a well-established developing country with a democratically elected government attempting a major restructuring of its economy along socialist lines. IDS and ODEPLAN, the Ministry of Planning of the Allende government, had jointly held a conference in Santiago in March/April 1972 on *La Via Chilena*, with Dudley Seers and Emanuel de Kadt playing major roles. Carlos Fortin, then Director of the European Bureau of the Chilean Copper Corporation in London and later Chilean ambassador designate to Washington, was also involved in the preparations. Thus news of the coup in September 1973 brought a real sense of shock to IDS, the more so because the information arrived during the closing session of the IDS/World Bank international conference on *Redistribution with Growth*. Three Chileans were attending the conference – Anibal Pinto, Alejandro Foxley and Jorge Cauas – in addition to Hollis Chenery and seven others from the World Bank, and other participants from Brazil and Colombia. The political realities of redistribution with growth were brought home with a shocking immediacy – as the Latin Americans left the room to find out more about the coup and to discuss its significance.

The coup itself was bloody – and equally so its aftermath, with thousands associated with the Allende regime needing to escape abroad. Dudley, along with many others, played an important role through the World University Service in helping to find places for them to go. IDS itself gained, from being able to welcome and appoint

²⁷ Dudley, who was a strong critic of tenure, went a stage further in the case of his own reappointment as a Fellow. He argued that most academics ask friends to be their referees, which was against the principle of objectivity. So Dudley listed as his referees, three persons whom he knew strongly disagreed with his approaches: Harry G. Johnson, a leading neo-classical economist, John White, an IDS Fellow who had often argued against Dudley, and Henry Bernstein, a Marxist graduate student, now professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), who disagreed philosophically with Dudley. It will break no confidences after so many years if I indicate that, not surprisingly, each of them strongly recommended Dudley's reappointment.

several distinguished Chilean social scientists: Osvaldo Sunkel almost immediately, later Carlos Fortin, Stephany Griffith-Jones, Edmundo Fuenzalida and Arturo Valenzuela. Others like Enrique Oteiza from Argentina were IDS Visiting Fellows during the 1970s. IDS also welcomed a number of very bright and talented students. One was Gabriel Palma, who later in 1978/9 returned as a Visiting Fellow to work on dependency theory and then wrote the prize-winning best review article on dependency, published in *World Development*. The IDS Latin American contingent over this period was strong enough for a weekly evening seminar in Spanish to be held for several years in Dudley's flat in Stanmer House. IDS gained a strong reputation for Latin American studies in the 1970s.

In a totally different way, the dramatic increases in oil prices over 1973/4 affected development thinking as well as the global economy. Within a few months, world oil price increases rose three to four times, causing a shift of some 2 per cent of global income from the oil-importing countries to the oil-exporting countries; about three-quarters of this went to the OPEC countries from industrial countries but about a quarter of the income came from the 'NOPEC' developing countries. The resulting imbalances threw much of the world into recession, and all but one of the industrial countries experienced declines in their gross national product in 1974.

Negotiations for a New International Economic Order – the so-called NIEO – gained real life for a while, though with hindsight it is clear that the developed countries were mostly playing for time. And by the second half of the 1970s, any idea that OPEC countries might build Third World solidarity by sharing the benefits of the oil bonanza with NOPEC countries was abandoned. Apart from a few arrangements under which OPEC provided oil at reduced prices to favoured developing countries, the enormous dollar surpluses of the OPEC countries were simply recycled via Western banks to whichever countries wanted to borrow. However, rates of price inflation soared, causing real rates of interest to be negative for a few years. Developing countries were encouraged to borrow, even by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – and the seeds were sown for the crises of debt and structural adjustment in the 1980s.

IDS was considerably preoccupied with these issues. A joint working party was established in 1974, comprising IDS, SPRU, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford (QEH), with Reg Green and Hans Singer publishing the recommendations in an interesting article entitled 'Toward a Rational and Equitable New International Economic Order: A Case for Negotiated Structural Changes'.²⁸ The interest of this piece is two-fold. Its analysis and proposals simultaneously tackled three major needs, rarely brought together in international negotiation, then or now: for access to minimum decent standards of living in all countries and for all people; for reforming international economic exchange to be more equitable and mutually beneficial; to ease recessionary and inflationary obstacles to growth and stability. Second, Hans and Reg explored how this combination might be turned into a negotiable package, trying to capture in

28 *World Development* 3.6, June 1975: 427–44.

particular the US\$300 billion of lost production arising from the 1974–5 oil-induced recession. This was a line of argument developed more authoritatively several years later in the ‘Brandt Report’, *North-South: A Programme for Survival*, a product of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt and to which Robert Cassen, an IDS Fellow since 1970, was seconded as a staff member of the Commission secretariat.

Other IDS activities were organised in the mid- and late 1970s on themes related to NIEO. A conference about the impact of oil on the social and economic life of OPEC countries was held, and a study group, a conference and a study seminar were organised on sugar, rubber and commodities more generally. Hans and Reg organised a study seminar on NIEO in 1978 and another a year later, on assessing progress on Negotiated International Economic Change, following UNCTAD V (the fifth UN Conference on Trade and Development).

1.9 Enter the MPhil students

Turning to internal changes within IDS, the establishment of the MPhil course was one of the most important influences during the 1970s and indeed since. The decision to start the course was only taken after considerable debate, within the Fellowship and within the Governing Body. A real concern was whether starting such a course would divert IDS from its founding goal of research and training on current issues of development policy. There were fears that it would draw IDS too far into ‘academic’ concerns and that ‘IDS would tend to forget that the most useful knowledge and research is not necessarily that which is counted as the most exciting work “on the frontiers” by the editors of academic journals.’²⁹ But eventually the decision came down in favour of going ahead with a two-year course, entry to be every other year. Dudley Seers was to have been the Director of the first course starting in 1973, but he fell ill and his place was taken by Ron Dore with Geoff Lamb as co-director. Dudley, with Geoff Lamb and Robin Luckham as joint Deputy Directors, then led the second course starting in 1975.

Creating such a course from scratch forced IDS to think through key questions about its perspectives on development. Although ultimate responsibility for this lay with the course convenor, the Institute was sufficiently close-knit that these perspectives became matters of wide IDS debate – and, indeed, one of the hopes in creating the course was that devising a new syllabus would stimulate Fellows to greater integration of the Institute’s work and, perhaps, serve as a step to producing a more general theory of development. These were high ambitions and certainly the latter was not achieved.

The course was fresh and bold, in at least three major ways. First, it set development within a wide interdisciplinary perspective which was both historical and international. Development was taken to begin about 1492, with Western expansion into Latin America and the modern build-up of empires. The course

29 IDS *Seventh Annual Report, 1974*, Brighton: IDS: 58.

decidedly did not follow a Rostovian view, giving most attention to the domestic conditions for take-off in developing countries. Second, there was much emphasis on the diversity of development experience, presenting a structural perspective – analysed by contrasting the experience and trajectories of various pairs of countries: the late rapid developers, Japan and the Soviet Union, but also Brazil and Mexico, Chile and Peru, Jamaica and Cuba, Kenya and Tanzania, China and India. Third, the course not only introduced different disciplinary perspectives but also different paradigms of analysis – neo-classical economic, structuralist and a Marxist-neo-dependency paradigm. Fourth, there were study trips to nearby countries – to Italy, to Scotland and later to Algeria. Fifth and finally, the course was responsive to students' comments. For example, it was feedback from students on the first MPhil course (MP1), who thought the course insufficiently integrated and without enough introduction to theory, which led to the liberal, structural, and Marxist theoretical frameworks being introduced more explicitly into the second MPhil course, as explained above.

IDS had bold ambitions for how the course might contribute to development in the longer run. The IDS 1975/6 Annual Report – in a section almost certainly drafted by Dudley – showed how far the Institute had moved from the original Bridges concept of training.

We were not, however, contemplating the recruitment of government officials only ... [W]e would be proud not only of those who took the course and in later official work were in some sense helpful to their country's development, but also of those who made theoretical innovations relevant to development problems, or led a successful revolt against an authoritarian regime which was blocking development. We hoped that [through the course] we might contribute indirectly to all these ends.³⁰

The course soon attracted worldwide interest. There were over 100 applications for the first course in 1973 and for the second, beginning in 1975, there were over 300 applications – for only about 22 places available and with applicants requiring two years of work experience in a developing country after a first degree, including some economics.

The MPhil students had great enthusiasm as well as rich experience and the course took off with a great sense of solidarity among them. Hubert Schmitz, who became an IDS Fellow in 1982, was one of 18 on the first course, and Kimmo Kiljunen, Roger Riddell, John Samy and Paul Spray were on the second, each of whom went on to careers in development, both in writing about development issues and in contributing to policy. The influx of students changed the dynamics and perspectives of the whole Institute, not least because they became active participants in a wide range of IDS activities. By the end of the second course, MPhil students had engaged in studying Britain as a developing country and, after visits and interviews in Scotland, they produced a paper on the likely impact of North Sea oil on Scotland (MPhil Faculty and Students 1977).

30 IDS Annual Report 1975/6, Brighton: IDS: 58.

The IDS pantomime was established as an annual tradition soon after the MPhil course was started, and later reached impressive heights of satire and musical panache when Gordon White arrived as a Fellow in 1978. Gordon was a master of the ivories, having honed his remarkable skills as an impromptu pianist by literally 'playing his way' to and from Australia in the days when this involved six weeks aboard ship.

Box 1.1 IDS panto highlights (part 1)

IDS Pantomime (1988), *Toyecula and Bankenstein Meet the Donor*. Script: John Humphrey and Gordon White. Lyrics: John Jenkins and Gordon White. Page 204

To the introduction of 'Let It Be', three dark-suited bankers with briefcases emblazoned respectively with USA, Japan, and EEC enter. They do a song and dance act to the tune and words of 'Let it Be' after removing the cigars from their mouths.

When I find myself in times of trouble
Milton Friedman comes to me
Speaking words of wisdom
Let it be

I wake up to the sound of markets
Running things efficiently
There must be free markets
Let it be

Governments must not interfere
With the things that we hold dear
Making lots of lolly
Let it be

And when all the broken pliant people
Living in the world agree
To listen to our answer
It will be

Students brandish *Capital* Vol 1 but the bankers open briefcases and take out signs for dollars, yen and sterling. They beckon seductively and the students follow them out eagerly.

These skills Gordon brought to the IDS pantomime, along with insightful wit and the ability to generate endless lyrics and music to match. Many of the scripts have disappeared – but those of eight pantomimes were even published by IDS in the 1980s. The plot of the pantomime is always derived from the main events of IDS in the past year, dramatised in terms of some classic format, such as the Nativity (*God Rest Ye Jolly Gentleman*), a Western (*The Good, the Bad and the Fundable*), a detective story (*Paradigm Lost*), a musical (*The King and IDS*), horror (*Toyecula and Bankenstein Meet the Donor*), and the media (*Fiends of the Earth*).

Later still, Gordon played a key role in creating the Institute's own band, which continues today under the name of 'The Rhythm Doctors'. Since the 1990s, the band has provided musical accompaniment to IDS parties and other events, including the pantomime which continues as an annual event at Christmas.

Postgraduate studies generally expanded in the 1970s. Although in 1968/9, 16 students were being tutored by IDS Fellows for MPhil or DPhil degrees in Development Economics in Sussex, by 1977/8, some 80 IDS students were being supervised for theses in many disciplines and on a great diversity of themes. Topics dealt with development issues in all major regions of the world: Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Swaziland, Sudan and Tanzania in Africa; Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East; Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Singapore and Sri Lanka in Asia; and Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guyana, Mexico and Peru in Latin America. The topics also ranged widely – deep tubewell irrigation in Bangladesh, trade relations of Egypt with Europe, industry and trade unionism in Brazil, public health in Brazil's countryside, the status of Muslim women as a minority group in India, theological interpretations of the development programme of the Caribbean Conference of Churches. By 1976, 33 doctoral theses had been completed.³¹

The significant point about this diversity was that most students were working on topics directly related to their own country; a positive and significant contrast with the situation of many other graduate students studying in Europe or the United States in institutions less specialised in development. Scarlett Epstein carried relevance and a comparative approach a stage further when, in the mid-1970s, she pioneered a new approach combining cross-cultural research and doctoral studies on population growth and rural poverty in four developing countries. Eight graduate students prepared for their research together in Sussex, then did fieldwork attached to local institutions in their own countries, later returning to IDS to analyse their work and write it up for doctoral theses. Outputs included not only the individual theses but a documentary film, *Maragoli*, and two publications, *The Paradox of Poverty* (Epstein and Jackson 1975) and *The Feasibility of Fertility Planning: Micro-Perspectives* (Epstein and Jackson 1977).

1.10 Seasonality, biases and participation

The 1970s marked the beginnings of an ever-widening range of involvements in participatory approaches to development, though it took much longer for it to impact on IDS as a whole. The evolution has gone through a number of stages: RRA (rapid rural appraisal); PRA (participatory rural appraisal); participatory planning and decision-making; and immersion for international aid officials and others who want to see and discover for themselves the realities of rural and urban life for the poor. The common element is learning *from* poor people and *avoiding the biases* of top-down perceptions of poverty (or even of development more generally) and learning the surprisingly difficult skills of how to listen.

31 Strictly these were doctoral degrees of the University of Sussex, though IDS provided the base and supervision for most of them.

Robert Chambers started discovering these messages through a range of research and teaching activities during the 1970s, in both Kenya and South India. In 1975, there was a critical meeting in IDS, with John Harris, Scarlett Epstein, Richard Longhurst and two or three others, at which the risks and biases of quick-visit observers were again noted. The first major presentation seems to have been at the conference on seasonality in 1978 and in the subsequent book, *Seasonal Dimensions to Rural Poverty* (Chambers, Longhurst and Pacey 1981). In this, Robert and Richard Longhurst asked why tropical wet-dry seasonality had been so persistently overlooked when it was so pervasive in the lives of rural people. They identified a range of now well-emphasised tendencies in the lifestyles – and visiting styles – of officials and experts, researchers, and other travellers to rural areas, which caused them to miss key points of grass roots reality. Robert and Richard referred to these as biases: the tendency for experts to stick to the main roads and nearby villages; to concentrate their observations on people while working; to focus disproportionately on irrigation and to concentrate visits during the dry season, thus avoiding all the difficulties of travel during the wet season. These they called the ‘tarmac’ bias, the ‘activity’ bias, the ‘irrigation’ bias and, above all, the ‘dry season’ bias.

Over the years, Robert and others in the Participation group³² have identified many other biases, including those of academic disciplines and professions, of researchers and experts. The poem below, written by Robert in 1978, presents in light-hearted verse what are often more serious reasons for failure – of understanding, of communication and of prescription for policy.

1.11 SOW and the Women’s Collective

A second major new theme to emerge in the mid-1970s was the Institute’s work on gender.³³ The main initiator was Kate Young, who was appointed to a research position in 1976/7 and as a Fellow a year later. She set up SOW – the Subordination of Women collective. The provocative title, Kate explained recently, was a sly, joking reference to the common MCP (male chauvinist pig) epithet, much used at the time. Maureen Mackintosh and Ruth Pearson, both then at IDS, were the other two initially involved. The collective grew by each nominating another woman academic with a feminist optic on her discipline. Then each of the six nominated another. Although the intention had been to get a good mix of disciplines, in the end economists and anthropologists predominated.

The aim of the collective was to come up with a set of premises and conceptual tools which would help development practitioners make more accurate analyses of the inter-relationship between male and female activities and understand how such relations formed the bedrock upon which policies and programmes could

32 Under various guises. Robert began his work in RUPAG, then the Participation Team, now renamed the Participation, Power and Social Change Team.

33 Scarlett Epstein had already organised a study seminar in early 1977 on ‘The Role of Women in Rural Development’. The seminar also provided the basis for the design of an ‘action-oriented study of the role of rural women in development’, which Scarlett Epstein then carried out, based at the University of Sussex.

Ode to the seasons conference

Robert Chambers (July 1978)

Assembled here in sunny Brighton
We hope our meeting will shed light on
Seasons. Is this good or bad?
Another conference? One *more* fad?

The answer is we're in a trap
We don't have seasons on our map
Our disciplines aren't trained to see
The range of seasonality

First, anthropologists I swear
To seasons have been far too near
Immersed in culture, rain or dry
They have not seen the clouds pass by

And sociologists, even worse
With questionnaires and questions
terse
Snatch instant truth, one-off. It's rare
To find them survey all the year

Nutritionists with careful plan
Conduct their surveys when they can
Be sure the weather's fine and dry
The harvest's in, food intake high

Malariologists can claim
Their pattern is not quite the same
Superior in virtue they
Migrate to *face* the rainy day

Economists, that super breed
Show seasonal supplies exceed
Demand: result – the landless poor
For less and less work more and more

And statisticians too declare
They have a seasonal nightmare
An average is but a dream
With seasons, means aren't what they
seem

Geographers – complacent crew
Will say – of course they always knew
What others now just come to know
That seasons come and seasons go

Contrariwise plant breeders say
Not seasons but the length of day
Is critical. The key they've seen
's a photoperiodic gene

Demographers now wonder why
We do it when it's cool and dry
Conversely when it's wet and hot
It seems we tend to do it not

Now epidemiologists
Will say the worst is when it's [poured]
With rain for that's when vectors vect
And swarms of small insects infect

The students seeking PhDs
Believe that everyone agrees
That rains don't do for rural study
Suits get wet and shoes get muddy

And bureaucrats, that urban type,
Wait prudently till crops are ripe
Before they venture to the field
To ask their question: what's the yield?

The international experts' flights
Have other seasons winter nights
In New York, Paris, Brussels, Rome
Are what drive them in flocks from home

And Northern academics too
Are seasonal in their global view
For they are seen in third world nations
mainly during long vacations

The rural people – I forgot
Know what some others still know not
Long life and leisure, food and health
Belong to those who have the wealth

They do not need research to show
The troubles they already know
Oppressed by hunger, sickness, debt
They know the worst is when it's wet

But wealthy ones dislike life dry
The poor may thirst but we'll get by
Eating and drinking, within reason
Steadily through the conference season.

founder if *misunderstood*, or succeed if correctly understood. Work proceeded by the preparation of a series of papers for a workshop. This was held at IDS in September 1978 and brought together some 80 participants, engendering a lot of excitement, creating an ongoing network and resulting in an *IDS Bulletin* summarising priorities for future work, policy and action (Young 1979). With hindsight, one can again identify this as the starting point for what has grown into a prominent part of IDS work and reputation, in teaching as well as research.

The reception in IDS at the time was very different – more suspicious, less convinced, sometimes hostile. Some colleagues were very supportive but on the whole, Kate recalls, the work was treated as marginal to the central concerns of the majority of IDS Fellows. Today, many development practitioners are concerned with human rights, with quality-of-life issues and with people's own perceptions of what constitutes wellbeing. But in the 1970s, a much more economic if not economistic view of what constituted development held sway. Concern about inequalities between men and women, both in the public and the private sphere, and how these were linked to economic development was not considered worthy of much intellectual effort. There has been a huge shift in thinking in development studies and IDS has been both an early contributor to the process – and a major beneficiary of it.

Once launched, however, gender issues became an important and increasingly central part of the Institute's work – in research, teaching, training, advocacy and outreach. Kate and the SOW group continued strongly in the 1980s, though Kate left in 1990 to be the founder Director of Womankind, an NGO established to help women in developing countries.

1.12 From public administration to access

When IDS was founded, public administration was seen as one of its major priorities. How could IDS help with the enormous task of training civil servants in the ex-colonies for the challenges ahead? The progressive answer to this at the time was 'development administration' – training not to maintain law and order, as in the former colonial system, but 'public administration for development' – the post-colonial challenge. There was only one problem. Early experience with such training had produced more failures than successes – and Bernard Schaffer, the first IDS appointee in this area, was one of the leading critics of what he argued had been a misdirected ambition. One of his early publications was a critique of the whole approach (Schaffer 1969). A later IDS study of training for public administration, involving an appraisal of comparative approaches to training in public administration and their outcomes, concluded that such training had limited effectiveness in promoting change (Schaffer 1974).

Over time, Bernard Schaffer shifted his focus to issues of 'access', especially access to public services, working with Geoff Lamb and others. He generalised the process of obtaining access in terms of 'gate, line and counter'. The gate, and the qualifications required to pass through it, represented the first hurdle on the way to gaining access to a service. The line, and the rules and procedures for determining who got to the front of it, followed. The final step in the process would be the counter – the often face-to-face interaction in which some member of the

bureaucracy had the final say in granting access or not. Some thought this frame over-simple and too definitional. ‘PGPAG has swallowed the theory “hook, line and sinker”’ was one comment. But as time passed, the framework grew in influence – and provided a frame which could be used for the analysis of more immediate problems such as corruption and political influence.

In the 1980s Bernard extended the frame – ‘to re-politicise policy in development’; in other words to recognise that development policy could not be sensibly analysed as some ‘rational ideal’ abstracted from the messy realities of state, bureaucracy, interests and history. Rather it needed to be analysed in terms of power relations. Bernard argued that the policy process involved four kinds of overlapping politics: the politics of agenda, of procedure, of power relations (through which public resources are raised and allocated) and the politics of access to bureaucratically distributed goods. Within this frame, Bernard recognised that there was some freedom of manoeuvre – and relevant analysis should explore the limits of this as a guide to effective policy.

1.13 Education and health

The Diploma Disease was the focus of a major project of the late 1970s, led by Ron Dore and involving Angela Little and John Oxenham among others. The project explored how the education system in many countries was being distorted by the employers’ use of qualifications in selecting for jobs. This led to backwash effects throughout the education system, sharpening the incentives to focus on examinations and diplomas to the point where the real process of learning was narrowed and made counter-productive. Chris Colclough was working on education and manpower planning, with a particular focus on Africa. In parallel with education, Malcolm Segall and Emanuel de Kadt explored models of primary healthcare at local level, initially in Ghana and later in Vietnam. These investigations explored systems which could expand services to the mass of the population and which sought ways to offset negative influences arising from the brain-drain and adoption of rich-country curricula. Methodologically, the work in the health sector had many points of overlap with work at village level and participation.

1.14 IDS quangoed! Fighting for survival

At the end of the 1970s, the election of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan brought major changes: to British politics, to the global situation, and in the focus of development studies. Basic needs went out the window. Neoliberal ideas blew in with gale force, reflecting Thatcher-Reagan policies in the UK and the USA. They were carried into development by new ideological concerns within the World Bank and the IMF and by the priorities for stabilisation and structural adjustment to cope with burgeoning deficits and the threats of debt in developing countries

For IDS as an institution, its funding arrangements were threatened in two main ways which, for a while, raised questions about its very capacity to survive. A

working party had been established to explore plans for the IDS fourth quinquennium (Q4) to run from 1981–86. At the first meeting of the working party in July 1979,³⁴ the DFID representative stated that he believed that there would be a negative response to a proposal at that time to establish an institute of development studies. He asked whether development studies was still a special subject. Shortly before the second meeting, four months later, it was reported that Foreign and Commonwealth Office Ministers had decided to end core grant support from the aid programme for IDS by the end of the fourth quinquennium (though it would still be eligible for research and consultancy money).³⁵ This led Keith Griffin, then Director of Queen Elizabeth House at the University of Oxford and a member of the working party, to comment that he was totally shocked at a proposal which could completely destroy an institution which was ‘second to none internationally’. To continue along this line would inevitably lead to the closure of IDS well before 1986.

As if this was not enough, I received a phone call – ‘bad news, I’m afraid’ – from the Permanent Secretary. He explained that IDS had been listed as a ‘Quango’. IDS had become one of over 2,000 quasi-non-governmental organisations, ‘non-departmental public bodies’, which had been identified by the new Conservative government as excessive in number and profligate in their dependence on public expenditure.

These depressing events led to some debate on the Governing Body whether the Q4 working party should even continue. It was decided that it should, though with some change in its terms of reference. Thus the work continued, focused on a ‘least cost to DFID solution’. Michael Caine, Chairman and Chief Executive of Booker McConnell, and the Vice-Chair of the Governing Body, and Sartaj Aziz, Assistant President of the International Fund for Agriculture and Development (IFAD), and Lal Jayawardene, soon to become Ambassador of Sri Lanka to Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the European Communities, were especially active members of the working party.

The threat to IDS mobilised an impressive array of support. Ambassadors, former students and Visiting Fellows wrote, some to the Foreign Secretary, declaring that IDS was in their view one of the most positive and important contributions of the UK government to their country’s development and to progress more generally.³⁶ One of the most powerful of these letters came from Jim Grant, on his last day as

34 There were rumblings before this, as early as July 1977 when in a DFID/IDS liaison meeting, DFID indicated great uncertainties surrounding the next quinquennium.

35 This was also put in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor on 9 November 1979.

36 Letters came from Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank and from others in the USA. These included Paul Isenman, Bob Berg – then of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), Paul Streeten – then at the World Bank, and John Sewell – the incoming President of ODC, Washington. There were also letters from Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish Nobel Laureate, and from a number of UK development institutions. The former Prime Minister, Ted Heath, also sent a note to Lord Carrington, commenting that his recent work on the Brandt Commission had brought him into close contact with IDS which, he said, ‘enjoys a worldwide reputation which can only have brought credit to this country.’ Tony Low, earlier a Dean in Sussex who had played a vital role in the founding of IDS, wrote to *The Times*. Letters also came from the Director and former Director of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

head of the Overseas Development Council (ODC), in Washington. It is worth quoting a key paragraph:

... I consider the IDS to be the single most influential intellectual center in the world with respect to development in low-income countries and North-South issues. Given the fact that the world is in a stage of historical transfers with respect to both the relations between the developing and the developed nations and to development concepts, particularly in non-Western societies, this contribution of IDS is of very great significance. I wish there was a comparable institute in the United States; we do not [have one] and, accordingly, draw very heavily on many aspects of the work of IDS. I am still hopeful that the United States will have the vision to set up a similar institute in the 1980s.

1.15 Lobbying the Queen

The Governing Body also mobilised itself strongly, first sending a group to meet Neil Marten, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Overseas Development. Then, in June 1980, a further deputation of four (the Vice-Chancellor as Chair, Michael Caine, the Deputy Chair, Christopher Brocklebank-Fowler, a Conservative MP, and myself) had a personal meeting with Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary.³⁷ As if this was not enough, Sir Shridath (Sonny) Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth and also Governor of IDS, skilfully arranged for me as Director to lobby the Queen when she was attending a Commonwealth reception given in Marlborough House.

It seems appropriate to refer to the notes I made that evening.

Alison [my wife] and I were conveniently near the canapés at the back, chatting, with Roland and Irene Brown, Rob Wood and a few others. Greta Cummings, Sonny's secretary, came over and urged us forward, so we squeezed into the line with the Queen just a yard or so away. Sonny made the introduction – laying great emphasis on IDS in Sussex, our sterling work, our national role and then, to my surprise, the threat from government because we were being treated as a Quango. 'Is this true?', the Queen asked. 'And are you not part of the university? And what exactly do you do?' I provided the answers – stressing that we were a national institution, not strictly part of the university, mentioning that some 2,000 persons from all over the Commonwealth had visited IDS and retained links. I agreed with Sonny that we were indeed under financial threat and – God help me – found myself thinking and perhaps even saying that this was all getting a bit more political than I thought Her Majesty was supposed to be. But Sonny pressed on, talking of other things the Institute did, including reference to the recent Commonwealth mission to [post-Amin] Uganda which Dudley had been leading.

37 Eric Burr, DFID's assessor on the Q4 working party also attended and made some positive interventions, which IDS thought were very helpful. In between the two meetings, in May there had been a reception at 10 Downing Street for the UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, who had been sent briefing notes via the Director of the UN Information Centre in London.

The Queen was keen to know how practical and specific the recommendations had been – and how quickly the mission had been undertaken. Again, I did my best to answer the points, stressing that IDS had provided the leader but that it was a Commonwealth Mission. I underlined that the needs identified for reconstruction were only too specific and very large. A number of donors had responded, though by no means to the full requirements, but Britain had been offering, I believed, some £25 million. The Queen expressed some satisfaction at the practicalities of the answer – and added, greatly impressing us in doing so, that ‘reconstruction was clearly going to take a very long time’.

It was a surprisingly full discussion, probably four minutes long, masterminded by Sonny. ‘But will it do any good?’, wondered my sceptical mind. ‘I only wish Her Majesty had some power to do something about it.’ Sonny reacted differently, when I checked that he would be coming to the Governing Body on the following Monday. ‘The Queen remembers these things’, he said. At that point, Colin Legum came by, congratulating Sonny on successfully engineering another meeting at the reception, this time with the Mozambican delegation.³⁸ He also added that he wished the press had been present. ‘My photographers were’, said Sonny, ‘and it’s all on film. So also is the IDS meeting.’

Whatever the process behind the scenes, before long it was indicated by DFID that a mistake had been made. IDS was no longer classified as a Quango. Though this removed the threat of immediate closure, tough bargaining still lay ahead with respect to the size and extent of a DFID grant for the fourth quinquennium.

This led to three steps, each with important implications for IDS over the long term. The first was the completion of the plan for the fourth quinquennium, with priorities and activities for the 1980s, and, most important, a budget and staff projections carefully judged to be neither over- nor under-ambitious. It assumed no change in staffing or the general level of activities, cautiously steering a path between defensiveness and bravado.

The second step was within the Institute: to use the crisis to rally support for a change long considered but, until then, never implemented. This was the introduction of ‘workpoints’, a system for scoring the contribution of Fellows to the Institute towards a general quantified target. Workpoints were given on the basis of contributions to teaching, consultancy, administration etc., with the number of workpoints related to the work involved and the amount of money each activity brought into IDS. The system covered all the activities of the Institute except research, which it was assumed was the preferred activity, and therefore needed no special incentives once other obligations had been fulfilled.

The third stage of crisis management was to obtain Governing Body and DFID agreement to taper down the government grant over the following five years, rather than the three initially proposed, with an understanding that any surpluses generated by the workpoints scheme could be put into reserves.

38 Not at that time a member of the Commonwealth, but soon to be.

1.16 A new era and a new Director

In April 1982, Mike Faber took over as the new Director, fresh from being Director of the Technical Assistance Group of the Commonwealth Secretariat and before that alternate Director of the Overseas Development Group of the University of East Anglia. He had a wealth of experience advising developing countries on negotiations with international companies and other tough partners. This came in useful in his time at IDS.

Mike described workpoints as a godsend – to him as Director, if not to every Fellow. From his point of view, the scheme worked like a treat and over the fourth quinquennium a surplus was generated sufficient to build up reserves to half a million pounds, far beyond anything IDS had ever managed before. But workpoints had other benefits, especially in providing guidelines for assessing equity among the contributions of different Fellows.

By the end of his tenure, Mike wrote in the Annual Report that:

Had we formally declared a financial crisis five years ago when the future funding of the Institute's work seemed in jeopardy, I suppose this [1985] is the year when we could formally and confidently state that this financial crisis was behind us.

Even more impressive, adjustment to the reduction in the block grant from DFID was achieved while maintaining the number of Fellows at 48, keeping turnover to a low figure (less than 5 per cent per annum), and avoiding compulsory redundancies. Teaching was expanded and more intensively managed and there was a great increase in commissioned work. In addition, relationships with DFID, the Government and a number of MPs steadily improved, in part through the style and experience of Mike Faber, a master of seeing how differing parties could 'get to yes' in a common agreement, and in part through a series of meetings in the House of Commons, attended by both MPs and development specialists from IDS and other institutions.

In terms of developments and policy in developing countries, the picture was far less encouraging. The international climate had become much more difficult for developing countries. The 1980s brought a sharp abandonment of many of the policies and preoccupations to which IDS had contributed in the 1970s: employment strategies, a focus on poverty, basic needs,³⁹ even redistribution with growth. This abandonment reflected global recession, debt crises, policy reversals and ideological revisionism. Recession hit the world in 1980–81, and hit developing countries hard, especially those in Latin America and Africa. This was accompanied by a sharp reversal of international policy, notably in the Bretton Woods Institutions, which in turn was reinforced by the adoption of a much harder line of neo-classical analysis and policy prescription, initially set out in the Elliot Berg report on sub-Saharan

39 Many in IDS had mixed feelings about basic needs in the 1970s. Dudley Seers was especially critical. He often remarked that 'basic needs were most perfectly met in a well-run zoo'.

Africa. Although the phrase ‘the Washington Consensus’ was only coined a decade later, the policies were in essence fashioned in the early 1980s, initially as measures of stabilisation to get control of deficits in the short run, later giving way to policies of structural adjustment, designed, in principle, to restructure economies of developing countries for longer-run growth and sustainability.

1.17 Stabilisation and structural adjustment

Not surprisingly IDS identified problems with both stabilisation and structural adjustment. A highly critical *IDS Bulletin* took apart the arguments of the Berg report, drawing on considerable expertise within the Institute on Africa. Reg Green in particular wrote a devastating critique, tracking down elements of the original draft of the Berg Report from sections later introduced by an editor attempting to tone down the original argument, much as some theologians have identified P and Q authors of the Book of Genesis. As a whole, IDS Fellows were not optimistic about the prospects of stabilisation and structural adjustment policies for Africa or Latin America in the 1980s. Events have proved them right, though at the time, IDS views were treated as unorthodox and unduly pessimistic.

A range of studies were undertaken and various publications emerged. In 1982, UNICEF organised a workshop to explore the methodological issues of assessing the impact of world recession on children, for which Dudley Seers and colleagues prepared the background paper. Studies were then commissioned by UNICEF of the actual situation in a dozen developing countries and, in 1983, a team was assembled to pull the results together into a comprehensive report, using the formula for rapid drafting developed for the ILO country missions. Dudley Seers fell ill in Fiji and died tragically in Washington while this work was underway, so could not participate in the final drafting. The study was dedicated to his memory.

Though not formally an IDS study, this continued the tradition of the ILO Employment Missions under which the contributions of certain IDS Fellows – in this case of Hans Singer, Reg Green and myself, along with K.N. Raj, a founding Governor – were key to the analysis and conclusions which emerged. UNICEF widely promoted the results of this study, including at high levels within the UN, the IMF and the World Bank. The study laid the groundwork for *Adjustment with a Human Face*, the UNICEF publication of the mid-1980s, which was acknowledged by the World Bank to have played a major role in shifting the thinking of the Bretton Woods Institutions.

Other initiatives were also underway within IDS. Mike Faber as Director, negotiated the idea of IDS running joint seminars with the World Bank and the IMF on improved design of Structural Adjustment Programmes. Several were run in IDS, with Mike Faber and Stanley Please (of the World Bank) as co-Directors and others like Reg Green playing key roles. Later the seminars were held in Arusha in Tanzania.

Stephany Griffith-Jones was one of the first economists to examine the link between international finance and development in poorer countries. In the 1980s she tackled head-on the problems of rising debt in a series of publications, including a prize-winning book, *International Finance and Latin America* (Griffith-Jones 1984),

and one jointly with Osvaldo Sunkel, *Debt and Development Crises in Latin America: The End of an Illusion* (Griffith-Jones and Sunkel 1986). Stephany also prepared the way for the world's first 'debt swap for children', building on the model of debt swaps for the environment. This involved a trilateral negotiation between the Midland Bank, Sudan and UNICEF in 1989, cancelling the international obligations of some private debts owed by Sudan, in exchange for generating local currency in Sudan for use in children's health and education programmes.

1.18 *Beware of Debt-Speak*

Beware of Debt-Speak was one of the Institute's more striking publications of the 1980s, attracting much attention. This small booklet by Mike Faber, featuring cartoons as well as hard-hitting analysis, focused on how creditors had developed a language of 'debt-speak' to promote and strengthen their position at the expense of debtors. In many instances this was by 'misleading descriptions': for instance, the term 'voluntary borrowing' was used to mean further borrowing by debt-strapped developing countries in order to meet interest obligations on old debt. Such borrowing was decidedly *involuntary*. Another case was 'new money' which actually referred to *old* money being recycled with part of the interest due being added to capital. Perhaps the most egregious example of all was 'moral hazard', a brilliant invention and a much-repeated component of debt-speak, Mike explained, which implied something like throwing your daughter onto the streets. In fact, it referred to debt forgiveness.

Beware of Debt-Speak made a considerable impact at the time. The representative of the UK Treasury distributed copies to colleagues at the Paris Club⁴⁰ and there was much acclaim from others. Revealingly, however, the newsagent on the ground floor of the World Bank refused to stock copies, on the grounds that someone might take offence and he could end up losing his franchise!

Food aid became a theme of much work in the 1980s, covering research, seminars and conferences. Hans Singer had already mapped out many of the basic arguments for food aid in the 1960s, in support of the establishment of WFP, the World Food Programme. By the 1970s, food aid and the WFP were well established in the armoury of donors. But they came into their own in the mid-1980s, with the disasters of African drought seriously affecting nearly 30 countries. Ed Clay, John Shaw and Hans himself were active in exploring how food aid could better be used in emergencies, drawing in part on experience in Bangladesh and India to show how improvements could be made in food crisis management (Clay and Everitt 1985).

Simon Maxwell and Susanna Davies were also part of this group and a force in their own right, especially in pressing the case for attention to food security and conceptualising what food insecurity means. Initially this was resisted, but later food security – and how actions to protect against food insecurities and to achieve poverty protection more generally – became a major part of IDS research and advocacy.

40 The Paris Club is an informal group of official creditors who meet periodically to explore solutions for debtor countries.

The teaching programme continued to grow through this period. Mike Faber's message as Director in 1985 pointed out that:

Those who have participated or who are participating now in our postgraduate programmes – the taught MPhil and the PhD research for which University of Sussex degrees are awarded – now number exactly 300. These individuals stay for a considerable time and become fully integrated into the IDS community. Amongst institutes specialising in development studies, we have one of the largest graduate schools in Europe.

The upward enrolment trend in the MPhil continued with 26 students, and the idea was put forward to begin a one-year MA in Gender and Development, jointly with the University of Sussex.

The aim of the MA in Gender and Development was to build on the work 'To equip students with the analytical skills necessary to understand the interaction between gender issues and social and economic development and the practical skills necessary to participate effectively in all aspects of policy.' The highly successful study skills short course, [on Women, Men and Development], then directed by Kate Young and Shireen Huq, was the basis of the MA course, which began in 1987 with seven students, directed by Kate Young and Ann Whitehead.

1.19 A new Director, a new mission

John Toye succeeded Mike Faber as Director in August 1987, coming from the Centre for Development Studies in Swansea with a high reputation, many contacts and an impressive list of respected publications. John saw his priority as strengthening the depth and quality of IDS research and its research publications. As he put it:

excellence in research [is] the key to enhancing the Institute's international reputation and maximising the value of its contribution. Teaching, training, advisory and operational work are all very important parts of the Institute's mission. But ... unless they are informed by high-quality research, they will be less effective than they can and should be.

Over his period of nearly 10 years as Director, the longest tenure of an IDS Director so far, John consistently emphasised the priority of high-quality research. But he also made other important changes, including overseeing a renewal of the Fellowship, by the recruitment of 26 new Fellows and research officers, the vast majority of whom were younger than 35 and more than half of whom were women.

1.20 States and markets

At the end of the 1980s, IDS joined battle with the still ascending neoliberal orthodoxy, in what may still be the Institute's most important and ambitious contribution, at least as a collective endeavour. Fifteen IDS Fellows joined together to produce a multidisciplinary analysis of the achievements and limitations of neoliberal philosophy. A seminar series was held in the autumn to discuss first

drafts, followed in December 1988 by a three-day workshop held as the Annual Retreat Conference. *States or Markets*, edited by Christopher Colclough and James Manor (Colclough and Manor 1991), was the resulting publication. This book argued that neoliberalism as a universal frame of policy applicable to all developing countries was both flawed and incomplete. The circumstances of different developing countries are diverse and highly complex. Thus desirable reforms to development policy are not – either in theory or practice – as simple or uniform as neoliberals wish to make them sound. The study in particular criticised some of the fundamental messages of neoliberal orthodoxy as they were being strongly and repeatedly expressed in the 1980s: that development required a reduced role for the state and an increased dependence upon free market allocation mechanisms and that in matters of resource allocation, imperfect markets are better than imperfect states.

Though the study was careful to recognise the differences between neoliberalism of the 1980s and neo-classical analysis and theory more generally, it pointed out the ready willingness of many neoliberals to draw policy implications of a concrete kind while remaining at a very general level of analysis. This, the study emphasised, was in sharp contrast to structuralists, neo-Marxists and even to less ideological neo-classicists.

Although the study presented the debate as structuralism *versus* neoliberalism, the papers ranged widely. Some were theoretical but most explored the strengths and weaknesses of neoliberal analysis in the specific contexts of agriculture, trade, gender, financial markets, industrialisation, education and health policy, rural development, irrigation policy, recovery from macro-economic disaster in sub-Saharan Africa, the political economy of war, and the politics of neoliberals. John Toye ended the volume asking whether there was a new political economy of development. The book pointed the way, he recently commented, to the ‘post-Washington Consensus’, initiated by Joe Stiglitz at the end of the 1990s.

Later, John Toye, together with Paul Mosley and Jane Harrigan, undertook a major evaluation of structural adjustment policies and programmes of the 1980s, particularly those financed by the World Bank. This study (Toye, Mosley and Harrigan 1991) consisted of a game theory framework applied to lending conditional on policy changes, and a set of econometric tests of the impact of compliance on key macro-economic target variables. The impact was found to be slight. As John commented:

The result brought on our heads the wrath of those who held that the Bank was ruining poor countries’ economies with its rampant neoliberalism and of those who held that it was doing them a power of good ... This was the first extensive independent assessment of the working of the World Bank’s structural adjustment lending – and in many ways, a first shot in the debate on the effectiveness of loan conditionality that still animates the international financial institutions today.

The teaching programme also underwent some important reforms. As part of the Institute’s Strategic Review for the 1990s, a group reviewed the MPhil programme, which was suspended in 1989 whilst their recommendations were made. Increased vocational relevance was thought to be required, and the course needed to be

designed to meet the needs of major categories of student: generalist policymakers and administrators from governments of developing countries, aid agencies, international organisations, and Northern and Southern NGOs. Some of the basic strengths of the MPhil would however be maintained: inter-disciplinarity; intellectual pluralism; and an attempt to convey a sense of totality and range of development experience, by adopting a historical perspective and taking account of socialist and capitalist approaches.

The recommendations were agreed by the university, and the course remains largely unchanged at the time of writing (2006/7). The provision of basic practical skills was strengthened and a base of three disciplines (economics, political science and sociology) was integrated in the first year. Alternative paradigms were integrated into the course; there was provision of time and incentives to do practical exercises; and there was a greater degree of specialisation and choice in the second year. The frequency of the course was reviewed by the Fellowship, and

The conclusion was that MPhil teaching – particularly in its revised format – continued to provide an important stimulus for many Fellows in pursuit of their research; it provided both an opportunity for keeping in touch with fundamental readings and also for subjecting their latest research findings to critical student scrutiny.⁴¹

However, it was also decided that the burden on course directors should be eased. Unlike the university, IDS staff were not appointed for teaching and had been undertaking a great deal of the administration for the course. Nonetheless, there was no doubt that the MPhil course should be continued. The Silver Jubilee edition of the Annual Report, in 1991, contained a review of the MPhil by Martin Godfrey, who concluded that '[T]he MPhil keeps us on our toes, helps us to identify the burning questions to which research should be addressed, stops us from becoming narrow specialists. Long may it flourish.'⁴²

Teaching continued to flourish in the 1990s and 2000s. In 1991, the MA Gender class contained two male students for the first time. In 1998, a new MA in Governance and Development was planned, sparked by the attention being paid to the good governance issues on the international development agenda. The MA in Governance was launched in 2000, as an inter-disciplinary course, covering state-centric and societal approaches. It was targeted at development practitioners and administrators in international agencies and public services in developing countries, and NGO and volunteers who want to develop careers. The first intake contained 18 students, many of whom had experience in government. A further MA programme was started in 2004, on Participation and Social Change. This would run over 15 months, training students who would return to their organisations to put participatory approaches into practice. In 2006, teaching was comprehensively reviewed once more, and it was decided that the 2005 MPhil intake (MP29) should be the last in the 2-year mould.

⁴¹ IDS Annual Report 1989, Brighton: IDS: 56.

⁴² IDS 25th Anniversary Annual Report 1990, Brighton: IDS: 121.

1.21 Demolishing myths

The 1990s was a decade of global triumphalism, reflected in the policy realm by structural adjustment policies and the rolling out of the Washington Consensus by multilateral institutions and many bilateral aid programmes. IDS Fellows played an important role in challenging this world view, as well as disputing key elements of the conventional wisdom of mainstream development policy. Robert Wade's *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (1990) demolished with detailed and careful evidence the view, much promoted by the Bretton Woods Institutions, that Korea and Taiwan had made their dramatic economic advances by relying essentially on the market. On the contrary, Robert showed that at every stage these governments used state influence, finance and more direct mechanisms to support industries and other activities linked to production, exports and accelerated development – and that this 'interference with the market' accounted for much of their success.

Huzza to the Heterodox!

(By Richard and Alison Jolly)

The orthodox enormities
And dreary uniformities
Fill the academic dormitories
With zombies and with clones

Huzza for the heterodox
Their flashing eyes, their flying locks
They proudly wear their mismatched socks
Into the danger zones

So down with old defences-es
And Washington Consensus-es
Let's come now to our sense-es
And disbelieve their spin

Climb on your little bicycles
To beat the neo-classicals
Severely twist their ... ears
Let heterodoxy win!

Let nothing now prevent us
Putting people at the centres
Leaders, not dissenters
May a human world begin!

The *IDS Bulletin on Developmental States in East Asia* (1984) edited by Robert Wade and Gordon White was also widely disseminated and much cited. It proved an important reference point for many who were challenging Washington Consensus assertions about the efficiency-outcomes of markets in general, and global markets in particular. Gordon's work on the role of the Chinese state in industrial policy reflected wider IDS contributions to the nature of socialist states in the developing world.

Another strand of the IDS challenge to the hegemony of unfettered globalisation was in relation to the impact on global incomes. Adrian Wood's book on North-South trade highlighted the consequences for low-skilled labour in the North and in middle-income developing economies of imports from developing countries, a study also much cited in the literature (Wood 1994). In the late 1990s, four IDS Fellows – Raphie Kaplinsky, John Humphrey, Hubert Schmitz and Khalid Nadvi – played leading roles in creating global research networks focusing on the way in which global value chains affected income distribution on a global scale. While many producers in developing countries had gained from producing for global markets, the study of global value chains showed that this was not a necessary outcome of participating in global production networks. The outcome depended on the capacity of developing-country producers to upgrade. In this, IDS research was revisiting Hans Singer's earlier seminal works on the terms of trade dating back to the 1950s. These latest findings combined strong empirical research on global value chains and industrial clusters with a series of industrial policy support programmes (with UNDP and UNIDO) in Cyprus (in which Robin Murray played a key role), the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Egypt.

In the area of environment, Melissa Leach and James Fairhead explored the specifics of how poor people affected the natural environment. Supplementing anthropological research with material from colonial archives and photographs, their studies cast doubt on whether the rise of population was necessarily destructive of forest and the environment. *Misreading the African Landscape* showed the error of seeing West Africa's forest-savannah mosaic as a steady progression of forest loss. This misguided view also obscured many other more positive developments: 'the creation of forest islands, their dynamics, and the enriching of open savannahs with more woody vegetation forms' (Fairhead and Leach 1996: 279). In parallel, Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns edited a book, *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment* (1996), which argued that much of received wisdom in this area was misguided, exaggerated or just wrong.

Ian Scoones, an ecologist then in the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) but later to join IDS, also demolished some myths about pastoralists in Africa in *Living with Uncertainty* (Scoones 1994). The book involved a major rethink of some of the hallowed assumptions of range ecology and range management practice, as well as the misleading nature of such terms as vegetation succession, carrying capacity, and even desertification, especially in dry rangelands dominated by highly variable rainfall and episodic chance events such as drought. Jeremy Swift, an IDS Fellow since the 1970s, was also a contributor, drawing on his long experience of living with pastoralists in Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia. With a focus on land tenure, local organisations and issues of food security, Jeremy preferred to do his fieldwork travelling with nomads, often on the back of a camel.

Another important contribution came in 1994 with the publication of Naila Kabeer's *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (Kabeer 1994). This book, reprinted several times, traced the emergence of women as a specific category in development thought and examined the evolution of alternative frameworks for explaining gender hierarchies, from women in development (WID) in the 1970s to GAD (gender and development) in the 1990s. Naila identified the

household as the primary site for the construction of power relations and compared the extent to which gender inequalities were revealed in different approaches to the concept of the family. The book showed the inadequacies of the poverty line as a measuring tool and gave a critical overview of population control policies. The book emerged just before the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and was highly praised for deconstructing the official discourses of social planners and development planners.

Another pre-Beijing contribution was by Anne Marie Goetz, critically assessing the efforts of six countries to integrate gender in development processes and to improve accountability to women in doing so (Goetz 1995). The countries studied had all created WID/GAD units in government. This national 'women's machinery' had produced many strategic gains – but had also encountered constraints through lack of staff, skills and funding and through gender biases in the operations of government, made worse by '... stabilisation and neoliberal economic policies [which] have had gender-differential impacts across a range of sectors.' The proposed solution was to strengthen the links and accountability between the WID/GAD units in public administration and the women's constituency in civil society.

1.22 Governance and democracy

With Bernard Schaffer's death in 1984, much of the Institute's work on public administration became rather diffuse. But as neoliberal policies of adjustment pressured more and more developing countries to shrink the public sector, IDS work in this area sprang to life. By the early 1990s, 'developmental democracy' was all the rage. With the downfall of the Soviet Union, and in parallel with the surge of global triumphalism mentioned earlier, a wave of *democratic* triumphalism began to sweep the West. Gordon White, Robin Luckham and Mick Moore, in different ways, presented a more cautious and more nuanced perspective. Gordon's work on China emphasised the importance of non-state actors. Robin focused on the complexity of establishing democracy in conflict and post-conflict situations. Mick Moore emphasised the backward steps away from democracy in Sri Lanka, a country with long democratic traditions.

By about 1994, something of a coherent IDS view of governance was developing, both broader and more subtle than conventional wisdom of the time. Two issues of the *IDS Bulletin*, 'Good Government' edited by Mick Moore in 1993 and another, 'Towards Democratic Governance' by Mark Robinson in 1995 explored the issues. They also set out the implications for donors in 'Can Foreign Aid be Used to Promote Good Government in Developing Countries?' (Moore with Robinson 1994). The themes were further developed in a project; 'Can Democracy Thrive in Developing Countries?'. The range of IDS involvements in a diversity of countries around the world gave empirical content to the analysis and messages. Having an accountable grant helped. Indeed, Mark Robinson has commented that he doubted whether this creative synthesis of thinking and empirical analysis would have been possible without some core financial support. Most of this analysis took the country as the frame of analysis but there was much attention to issues of decentralisation and local-level institutions by James Manor and John Humphrey.

John Toye had made research – and the quality and depth of that research – the centrepiece of his leadership in IDS. But he added a warning in his final Annual Report, ‘My main anxiety for the future is that the standard [of research] that has been reached is becoming increasingly hard to sustain in the much more uncertain research funding environment that the Institute is now facing.’

1.23 Enter a new Director – from North America

There were indeed major signs of danger. By 1997, the DFID accountable grant was in its final year, and DFID had indicated several times that it neither intended to renew it, nor to continue any funding for the Library. Worse still, there was no clear strategy in place to deal with this important shift in support. As Gordon White quipped: ‘IDS was being privatised, but no one wanted to buy us!’

Enter the saviour from North America! The Governing Body had decided two years earlier that IDS needed a manager, someone who could take charge of this situation and of IDS as a whole. The next Director would need to be from a different mould. Management and fundraising skills were the priority. Academic distinction was important but second in priority to someone who could take charge and turn the Institute around. A recruitment group was set up and, after searching nationally and internationally, came up with a name which won the unanimous support of the Governing Body and, though initially wary, the support of the Fellowship. This was Keith Bezanson, a former volunteer in West Africa, one-time Canadian Ambassador to Peru, for several years a Vice-President at the Inter-American Development Bank and immediately before joining IDS, Director of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa. Especially relevant was that Keith had saved IDRC from its own financial crisis, though admittedly by taking it through a difficult period of downsizing.

Keith Bezanson started his tenure as Director in March 1997. He rejected any thought of retrenchment or downsizing and, instead, embarked on an aggressive and high-risk strategy of expansion. The logic underlying this, he explained, was simply that IDS had been the world’s premier institute of development studies and should not accept anything less.

Less emphasised but surely important was that IDS, under its new helmsman, would be sailing in more positive waters, with strongly favourable winds. A new Labour government had been elected in May of the same year, with Clare Short as the dynamic new Minister of International Development working in close alliance with Gordon Brown, the Chancellor. This strong partnership was to lead to increasing levels of UK aid, year after year, almost tripling in money terms by 2005, making substantial steps towards achieving the target that aid should represent 0.7 per cent of national income by 2013.

The Bezanson strategy worked. After an inevitably difficult first two years, with the IDS deficit reaching £500,000 in 1997/8, there followed a period of unprecedented growth. From 1999 to 2003 overall IDS finances rose substantially. Almost £2m was added to reserves and total staffing levels rose. By 2002, IDS was running out of office space and, for a while, there was serious talk of needing to add an additional floor to the octagon to provide more rooms for researchers.

IDS not only managed to increase its revenue but also to diversify its financial base through funding from the Ford, Rockefeller and Volkswagen Foundations and from Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland. By 2001, total financing from all sources within DFID represented about half of IDS revenue, compared to nearly three-quarters in 1998. This proportion has continued, as Table A1 shows.

As Keith reported to the Governing Body, far from beginning an IDS decline, 'The ending of the DFID accountable grant elicited productive and highly successful responses on the part of IDS,' though he did emphasise how the change from a partially secure to a wholly insecure funding base had increased pressures and tensions across the Institute as a whole.

The global economic situation was at the end of the 1990s much more challenging. Keith expressed himself strongly on the situation in 1997, towards the end of his first year:

Global development prospects had rarely appeared more bleak. The miracle economies of East Asia were in free fall, their currencies and asset markets having dropped 50 per cent. Russia had defaulted on its foreign debt. The woes of Brazil were fast accelerating and threatening the entire Latin American region. China's export growth had dropped from 20 per cent in 1997 to less than 4 per cent in 1998. And for Africa as a whole, the collapse in commodity prices suggested a 1999 growth rate of barely 1 per cent, disastrously below the rate of population growth. In much of the world, gains in development, particularly in poverty reduction, that had been earned during the previous ten years or more were being lost or under threat. The development reversal that had begun as a liquidity crisis in Thailand had become a generalised crisis, affecting all continents and creating a predominantly pessimistic view of global prospects.

Earlier in the 1990s, Stephany Griffith-Jones had warned of the risk to development of future financial crises, for example in her book on *Coping with Capital Surges* with Ricardo Ffrench-Davis (Ffrench-Davis and Griffith-Jones 1995). After the crises in East Asia, she became an important actor in the debate about the reform of the international financial architecture, especially in her work with José Antonio Ocampo.

'Gender myths' was the theme of an IDS conference held in 2003, the last year of Keith's Directorship, organised by Andrea Cornwall with Elizabeth Harrison and Ann Whitehead of the University, whose participation provided a thread of continuity with Kate Young and the early work of SOW. Looking back over 25 years revealed enormous progress in incorporating gender concerns into development thinking and policy but, at the same time, raised questions about the extent to which the mainstreaming of gender in development policy had led to 'gender myths' – designed to counter gender stereotypes and motivate positive change for gender equality but in fact involving exaggerations which in the long run can be counter-productive. An *IDS Bulletin*, 'Repositioning Feminisms in Development', included the main papers from the conference (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead 2004).

1.24 Communication – a new strength of IDS

Keith's period of the Directorship brought other positive changes beyond finance.

The Information Department, which had already embarked on expansion and new activities under John Toye, was made an ever more important and stronger component of the whole IDS programme, with its staff more than doubling from 22 in 1997/8 to 55 in 2004. Geoff Barnard, who had been appointed in 1994 to develop the Institute's communications strategy, became Head of Information in a new department created to bring together all the component parts of information and communications, old and new, including the Library. This incorporated id21, the research reporting service started a year earlier with a mandate to communicate UK-based development research to decision-makers and practitioners worldwide, and also Eldis, described below supporting the documentary, exchange and use of evidence based knowledge using internet based delivery mechanisms.

The Computer and Technical Services (CATS) had been established in the late 1980s, but even by 1991 there was only one electronic link with the university – and that to IDS accounts. (There had been another link with the university library, but it had been hit by lightning!) E-mail took off, however, when Pegasus arrived. Andrew Buxton, then head of CATS, read about the Pegasus programme in the *Guardian* one Thursday at tea-time and by the same evening had downloaded it and got it working. Soon Pegasus was widely used in IDS. 'I'll send you a PEGGY' was heard as people passed in the corridors. For a while the university suggested IDS adopt ids.sussex as the main form of e-mail address or domain. But Andrew resisted on the grounds that IDS was a national institute, not part of the university. So ids.ac.uk was adopted, and IDS became one of the first non-university institutions to use the .ac.uk form. Before long the new system had settled in – though not before some messages had arrived for another IDS – the Irish Dental School.

The arrival of the internet in the mid-1990s created opportunities that IDS seized with both hands. The first IDS website went live in 1995, with an online bookshop being added in 1997, one of the first of its kind in the development sector. Eldis had been started in 1994 (instigated and now run by Peter Ferguson) as an experimental service based around a printed guide to electronic information sources. By pioneering new approaches to organising and presenting development information online and via e-mail, Eldis grew into one of the leading internet gateways on development. Nowadays it attracts more than 100,000 visitors a month.

Having established a head start in this new development communication field, other organisations began approaching IDS for advice and help. Eldis was a lead partner in setting up the Global Development Network's GDNNet initiative in 2000, and worked with the Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP) in developing and hosting the first Microfinance Gateway, launched the same year. Livelihoods Connect went live in 2000 as a website developed in collaboration with DFID to promote learning and knowledge-sharing on sustainable livelihoods approaches to poverty reduction. In the subsequent years, the IDS 'family of knowledge services', as they are now known, grew further. IDS was part of winning consortia that bid to run several of the new generation of resource centres being commissioned by DFID to provide tailored support to DFID advisors and their partners. These included the Governance Resource Centre (2001), the Health Systems Resource Centre (2002) and the Health Resource Centre (2003). To support these services the technical computing team for information systems also was expanded, from the equivalent of one full-time staff member based in the Library (in the early 1990s) into a separate Information Systems Unit with seven staff at present.

IDS involvement in knowledge support work on gender issues dates back earlier than this. The development and gender briefing service, BRIDGE, had been conceived in 1992 by IDS Fellow Susan Joeekes in response to requests from members the OECD/DAC Working Party on Gender for practical support in helping to mainstream gender in their agencies. (As an IDS research officer in the 1970s, Susan had done pioneering work on women's employment in carpet production and other aspects of gender and trade in the Middle East.) By 1995, BRIDGE had launched a newsletter, *Development and Gender in brief*, and by the late 1990s, was conducting a series of country studies and thematic reviews. BRIDGE became increasingly trusted as a source of high-quality information and analysis on development and gender issues. By 2001, another new initiative was underway with the production of Cutting Edge Packs on key gender issues and the establishment of Siyanda, a website aimed at gender practitioners.

While the Institute's online services were booming, the Library was coming under increasing threat. DFID funding was cut severely in the late 1990s as the accountable grant came to an end, requiring painful cutbacks in staffing and prompting worries about the Library's survival in a recognisable form. 'Why should aid money be used to fund an academic library in Sussex?' was the question posed by DFID. The response from IDS was to reorient the Library so it was accessible, via the internet, to a global audience. This transition took several years but paid off in 2005 when IDS received a substantial new three-year grant from DFID, combining increased funding for the Library with renewed support for Eldis, id21 and BRIDGE. This programme for 'Mobilising Knowledge for Development' also included funding for the first time for cross-cutting work on marketing, monitoring and evaluation, learning and capacity building, and research on the role of knowledge intermediaries such as IDS.

The emergence of this vibrant new area of work around communications and knowledge-sharing helped to transform the Institute and provided an important additional string to the IDS bow. By 2006, the Information Department was generating more than a third of the Institute's total funding and information and communications staff almost matched the number of researchers. The in-house Communications Unit was also substantially strengthened and an increasing number of communications officers became embedded in research projects. This added up to a substantial change in emphasis compared to a decade earlier, and a real sign that effective communications was seen as integral to the Institute's mission.

In his final statement to the Governing Body in 2003, Keith emphasised other changes in the framework of policy research. Social science research had become more and more intertwined with policy- and decision-making, increasing the need for research agendas to be jointly determined in advance, tending to involve large research partnerships and requiring the results of research to be published simultaneously in scholarly journals, as policy briefs and in more populist modes. This had gone along with a shortening of the cycle between theory formulation and verification. Information technology was now providing access to a huge amount of information of all types and had created the networks for integrating social science research and policymaking.

1.25 IDS as a community

IDS is a community – and some of those most conscious of community and continuity are the support staff. Many of those working in housekeeping, the kitchen and bar have been at IDS over 25 years. Pat Walls is one of them. She was born in a Brighton family of seven girls and one boy. Her father, Mr Greenfield, worked in the Brighton abattoir, between Lewes Road and Ditchling Road, just before the tunnel running through to London Road Station. He started work at 5am and Pat remembers walking with their mother and sisters to the abattoir on Sunday mornings with a full cooked English breakfast for him, wrapped to keep it warm.

Five of the seven sisters have worked in IDS at one time or another – Janet, Jean, Linda, Pat and Wendy – mostly in housekeeping, the kitchen and the bar. Linda Miller, Pat Walls, Wendy Jupp and Linda Greenfield still work in IDS today. It all started with mother, Mrs Fulker, who was recruited by Nan Tattersall to cook breakfasts on weekend mornings for Study Fellows in the early 1970s. When Mrs Fulker retired, in the mid-1970s, Linda Miller, one of the sisters, took over, working with Jean Stafford Plows and Wendy Charters. It was Wendy who introduced lunches and meals for evening functions.

Pat herself started in IDS in 1987, another of the family sisters. Being treated as equals is a big part of the IDS sense of community. ‘I found it difficult at first to call John Toye “John”. After all, he was the big boss. But that was – and is – IDS.’ Indeed, one nice feature of the present IDS is that Gabriel, the current chef, usually arranges for another caterer to cook the annual Christmas lunch – which makes it possible for the kitchen staff to join in and enjoy it themselves, instead of having to cook and serve. (But in the old days, male Fellows used to do the washing up after Christmas dinner – a token but meaningful recognition of gender and class inequalities within IDS.)

In the teaching area, relationships and a sense of community were established in no small part by two current members, Angela Dowman and Sue Ong, who have been involved in the Teaching and Training Unit (TATU) since the 1980s. As the Directors have taken less responsibility for administration, and the short study skills courses have declined due to lack of funding, TATU assumed the task, moving from the DPhil room to its current location. With the end of the study courses in the early 1990s, an important part of the IDS community ended too, as staff could no longer socialise with participants from around the world, enjoying their hospitality in the accommodation room and meeting in the Upper Common Room for morning tea and, in the summer, Wimbledon. ‘We learned so much from them – and they learned from us. Great conversations – and some tears as they showed us photos of their families’, according to Pat. TATU’s attentions shifted to the taught masters courses, easing the burden on the Fellows directing the courses, and introducing greater stability into the teaching programme. TATU have, therefore, increasingly become the point of contact for many students, and it is now perhaps rarer than it was to find Fellows, when in the country, working nine to five with open doors through which students can wander. Smaller rooms and increased numbers of students and Fellows have come at a cost. Table 1.1 shows the steady increase in numbers (there was no MPhil intake in 1989 as the course was restructured, and the course was every two years between 1973 and 1979).

Even without the study courses IDS has retained much diversity in its students. There is currently a higher number of European and North American students than previously, slowly increasing numbers (if not proportions) from South Asia, and a much smaller proportion of students from Latin America than in the early years of the MPhil. The restructuring of the teaching programme in 2007 is in part a reaction to the trend of declining proportions of students from the poorest areas of the world, notably sub-Saharan Africa. The new MA in Participation and Social Change has to some extent addressed this, with eight students from sub-Saharan Africa in its first year and three in its second. Nevertheless, high fees and limited funding restricts the number students from poorer areas, and every year many offered places cannot be taken up for lack of funding. Table 1.2 details students by region.

Table 1.1 Taught students by course (3 intake moving average)

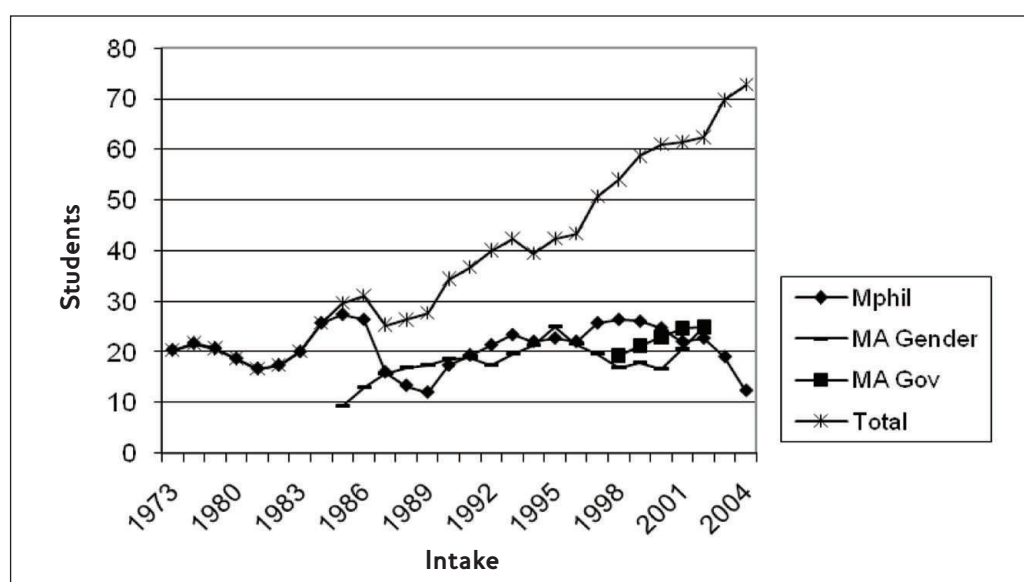
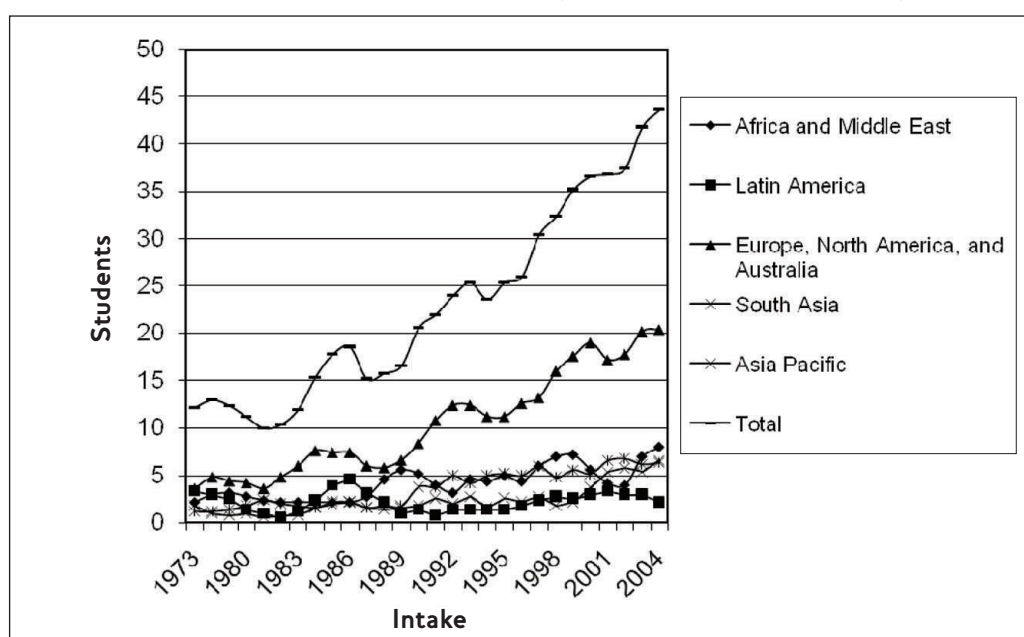


Table 1.2 Taught students by region (3 year moving average)



Singing in the corridors and dancing in the bar has over the years added to the community. Reg Green in the 1970s and 1980s also had a room in the accommodation wing – and moved into it, along with Arabella, his cat. Reg could be terrifying when he lost his cool – or lost Arabella, often both together. But all was forgiven, at least temporarily, in 1981, during the finale of the pantomime. Announcing the discovery of the holy grail to the Hallelujah chorus, the assembled cast rose to a crescendo of Aaa-ra-bella, Aaa-ra-bella, and Reg appeared with the white and ginger cat curled round his neck.

Bill Pope was the Institute's first porter, also Brighton-born. In the early days, when all staff joined in the annual meeting to decide on the use of the outside earnings fund, Bill would be a strong, clear conservative voice when academic ideology threatened to take over. Bill had grown up poor and had no hesitation in describing how he would pawn his suit for one shilling and sixpence on Monday, redeeming it on Friday if he had a girl to take out. Pawnshop rules were that you received one shilling and five pence when you handed in the suit – and paid one shilling and seven pence when you redeemed it. If this was done weekly, some of us calculated that it was the equivalent of an annual interest rate of some 550 per cent – about the same as charged by village money lenders in India. But Bill never let any sense of outrage get out of hand and when he retired in 1974, IDS made him an honorary member of the Institute. No one who heard it can ever forget Bill's account of accelerating ever faster down Elm Grove on his delivery bike after the brakes had failed (I have no record or memory of what happened when Bill reached the bottom). It was his frank and human touch, strong character and early experiences which encouraged us all to want him as an honorary member.

Sheila Burgess was another character who did much to hold IDS together, in Sheila's case, from the switchboard. She took the trouble to know every newcomer within days – and everyone else within IDS and usually where they were. Sheila was the first face – and friendly voice – of IDS to the outside world from 1975 to 2003.

Zoë Mars was one of those who have done most for IDS over the long term, almost from the Institute's beginnings and almost to the present, a stalwart above all others. Starting as one of the research assistants of the Kosi project in 1969, Zoë moved to publications in the 1970s and then became Academic Secretary in the 1980s, a post she held for over 20 years. With a string of qualifications and endless commitment, Zoë became the institutional memory of the Institute and a large part of its heart and soul. At critical phases, Zoë (sometimes with Emanuel de Kadt) held the Institute together.

The IDS community spirit continues, perhaps at its most visible among the IDS students and those who have long been involved in the teaching unit, notably Julia Brown, Angela Dowman, Felicity Harrison, Julie McWilliam and Sue Ong, the current manager. The thank you cards sent by students at the end of a course is the nearest IDS gets to publishable love letters, brimming with heartfelt feeling and gratitude.

Much of the solidarity and commitment within IDS reflects continuity in all categories of staff. Some 25 of the academic staff have been in IDS for 20 years or more, and as Appendix 2 shows, almost a hundred staff in all grades have been in IDS for 15 years or more.

Among those heading the administration, none achieved Tommy Gee's record of over 20 years at the helm of the administration, but many within the administrative staff have served even longer – Francine Spencer, most notably, but also Ros Woodhouse, Nan Tattershall and Maureen Norman. Though Audrey Blin-Stoyle was not quite fifteen years within the IDS, her links with the University went back to the very beginning.

When the IDS has run smoothly, the administration has too easily been taken for granted – though the administrative staff have also played an important role in setting the style and sense of solidarity within the Institute, including at times playing more visible roles in the pantomime or, behind the scenes like Carole Walton writing many of the lyrics! Some administrative staff have rotated around different positions, like Zoë Mars, and many have demonstrated skilful judgement in maintaining the Institute's institutional memory and, no doubt, sometimes helped it forget the events best forgotten and a few unmentionable!

One revealing incident occurred in 1987 when the MPhil class (MP10) sent a formal letter of protest objecting to the award of the three annual prizes created in memory of Dudley Seers. Initially these were to be given for the three best dissertations but the students objected 'at the potentially adverse effects of introducing a formal type of competition into the course.' The students explained,

We are not here to compete. We benefit by cooperation and are pleased with the level of cooperation and solidarity so far developed, while at the same time we are committed to our own personal endeavours and would rather that these not be compared and materially awarded.

Instead they proposed that the funds be 'accepted collectively', in order that the class could put them towards some agreed development-related concern, such as books for a needy Nicaraguan university, or materials to support victims of the Mozambican crisis. Their letter ended,

The concept of an MPhil group project goes a little way towards bridging theory with practice in the course and would represent our immediate collective contribution and continued determination to contribute to international development. It seems to us that this is very much in keeping with the spirit of the MPhil and appropriately serves the memory of its founder, Dudley Seers.

I find it difficult to conceive of a better summary of the IDS spirit and commitment.

The Fellows and research officers made their own distinctive contribution to the IDS community. One revealing example is that of the internal income tax. For the first 11 or 12 years, IDS administered its own internal tax on outside earnings, at a rate of 50 per cent on all earnings from consultancies, with the income being used for some purpose decided upon by all IDS staff in a public meeting. The decisions on the tax itself were taken in periodic meetings of the Fellows and led at times to animated and detailed discussion. Should the tax only apply to earnings from consultancies? What about earnings from royalties on publications? Was it reasonable to have one fixed rate for everyone? Why not set the rate in relation to income and take account of all income, earned and unearned?

Decisions on how to use the outside earnings fund were different but also lively, the room packed with staff from all sections of the Institute. For a while some, mostly the academics, saw this meeting as the annual opportunity to raise issues about salaries in general within the Institute, highlighting the much higher earnings of Fellows compared with all the rest. On at least one occasion, there was even debate on the proposition that everyone in IDS, from porters to secretaries to professors, should receive the same pay.

One of the first proposals regarding use of the outside earnings fund was that it should be used to enable some of the secretaries to spend several months in a developing country and to become involved in some of the realities with which Fellows were routinely engaged. The proposal was not simply for a short visit but to pay for a secretary to work in one of the institutions with which IDS had links. But this created its own problems: at what salary? And would this not be displacing a local person? In the end, a creative solution was reached. There would be an exchange – with one of the IDS secretaries spending six months in a research institution in Sri Lanka and, in return, one of the library staff of that institution spending six months in the IDS Library, with all extra costs picked up by the outside earnings fund.

The outside earnings fund and the annual meetings continued until about 1977 or 1978 but had to be abandoned after that. Under the Labour government regulations, IDS was required to sign agreements with national unions,⁴³ who objected to any obligations for Fellows to pay internal taxes, let alone to any ideas of equal pay for all staff. Institute-wide meetings became much more tame – and gradually faded away, except for the annual parties.

The abandonment of the internal income tax by no means meant discarding the emphasis on personal commitment. This challenge entered into IDS in two different ways: through participation and the challenge of ‘putting the last first’, with the emphasis on field practice and ethics and behaviour, attitudes and training. Precepts and principles for this have explicit implications for behaviour – personal as well as professional and institutional. In a different way, the growing role of gender studies has raised questions about attitudes and institutional behaviour between men and women within the Institute.

Much of the solidarity and commitment within IDS reflects continuity in all categories of staff. As Appendix 2 shows, some 25 of the academic staff have been in IDS for 20 years or more, and, in total, almost a hundred staff in all grades have been in IDS for 15 years or more.

1.26 From collegial to corporate management

This said, the IDS sense of community has evolved and altered in several ways over the years. One is the move of IDS from a collegial structure to a corporate network.

43 This was one of the requirements under the Labour government of 1974–79. IDS signed agreements with the Association of University Teachers (AUT), National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO) and the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS).

The IDS of the 1960s and 1970s was essentially run by the Fellows, who were predominantly British and male, strongly focused on research and mostly sharing an egalitarian ethos. This has changed, with a growing number of IDS staff and students, more women, more people from developing countries from diverse backgrounds and many more non-Fellows, more information staff and large support units in finance, human resources, communications and administration. Clicking on to the IDS e-mail and intranet has often replaced more direct human interaction – both for information-sharing and decision-making.

With changes in management styles and organisation, IDS has become more corporate. There is more formality, more hierarchy, much less spontaneous interaction. On the other hand, the Institute is much more networked with the outside world, notably with researchers in developing countries. These networks are of great importance for their achievements and their potential, especially those of the research programme consortia, the new KNOTS (Knowledge, Technology and Society) programmes and of the Participation Team.

So is the net balance of these changes positive or negative? The growing diversity of staff and students is to be greatly welcomed in an Institute concerned with development and developing countries. How could it be otherwise? And the growing attention to networking with individuals and institutions in developing countries, and the increasing effort to strengthen these networks, is long overdue. So also is the increased attention to information and outreach.

But are the styles and hierarchies of corporate management always necessary or desirable? Here I have my doubts and others may have theirs. I also wonder whether something is being lost if Fellows meet less often. I do not wish to be misunderstood in saying this. My concern is not to re-establish a privileged group but to ensure a strong core of development thinking and experience in what is a research institute. This does not mean any less attention to information or less efficient management of the IDS as a whole. But it is an argument that ultimately for IDS to retain its worldwide standing in research and teaching, the Institute must maintain a strong core of intellectuals interacting together and providing leadership, as well as interacting with others on broader development networks.

1.27 Perspectives for the twenty-first century

Over the late 1990s and into the new millennium, IDS research remained organised in six theme areas: globalisation, poverty and social policy, environment, governance, health and social change, and participation. The focus and emphasis within the themes, however, was evolving and shifted most clearly after the appointment of Lawrence Haddad as the new Director in July 2004. With his arrival, a year-long process of consultations began, both within the Institute and with external stakeholders, to review the IDS strategy and to look again at its vision and mission. Core values were made more explicit – a concern for equity and social justice as well as poverty reduction – together with clearer recognition of the power relations that shape development processes. Key points were identified relating to the Institute's own approach to development studies, building on its long tradition: the need for independence to challenge orthodox thinking while suggesting alternative

sustainable ideas; working with transparency and with accountability to all stakeholders; the importance of working with a plurality of partners, funders and perspectives; and an emphasis on continuous learning across the whole of the Institute's work.

How to strengthen the Institute's influence, build its capacity and develop partnerships were common factors in these reviews. The Institute's six themes were reviewed, strengthened and sharpened in focus. By the time of writing in 2006, the changes could be summarised as follows:

- *Globalisation* is giving more attention to links with poverty and inequality, with a special focus on the Asian Drivers and the unprecedented shift in economic power from West to East.
- *Governance*, which had initially focused on large, relatively capable states, has increasingly shifted to the political challenge of fragile states and how to ensure development and good governance outcomes in these most difficult of situations. The Centre for the Future State, hosted by the Institute, has been established and funded as a research project which works in partnership with a number of Southern institutions.
- *Vulnerability and Poverty Reduction*, always a central concern, is now giving more attention to vulnerability as well as to social protection.
- *Knowledge, Technology and Society* (KNOTS) has come to embrace much of the earlier work on environment and health, with specific attention to rethinking the future of African agriculture, the politics of scarcity in such critical areas as water, food and energy, wilderness visions and farm invasions, health systems, and health and vulnerability, as well as, more generally, exploring how to make science and technology work for the poor.
- *Participation, Power and Social Change* is placing ever more emphasis on how democratisation and rights are hindered by entrenched power relations, prejudices and inequalities. Again, some long-standing preoccupations of IDS have been brought within this frame, particularly concern with how these issues play out among pastoralist societies; participation in economic decision-making; and learning and teaching for transformation.

Partnership with a variety of institutions in developing countries is today a strong and common element in the way IDS research is being approached and organised. This reflects an evolution of thinking and practice within IDS but it also reflects changes within DFID and within British development research more generally. But there is a distinctive IDS element, linked intellectually and organisationally to earlier IDS work of the Participation and Governance teams. In the 1990s, participatory methods had spread widely, horizontally to 60 or 70 countries and vertically in the operations of several UN funds and agencies, notably in the World Bank and among a number of donors. This had been influenced by earlier IDS work and in some cases had been directly supported by it. The IDS Participation Group had helped build up PRA-related networks through information, workshops, advocacy, teaching and training, and research and networking. A significant proportion of the Group's funding has been invested in these activities, building networks within developing countries but also between them.

The positive response from outside served as a major boost to the expansion of the Institute's own work in this area, and helped attract further support from outside. The number of IDS staff working on participation expanded from two or three in the 1970s – Robert Chambers and one or two others – to 10 or 12 in the 1990s and 22 today (12 in research and 10 in supporting and communications roles). In terms of topics, the focus shifted from PRA (participatory rural appraisal), to participatory research, participation, power and development. Participation and governance became a further theme, linked to changes of the 1990s, when development preoccupations moved from development 'for beneficiaries' to participatory development involving citizens with rights. It was a small step from this to participation and partnership in research, though a highly significant one. Since 2000, the LogoLink project has built a global learning network of practitioners working on local governance from South and South-east Asia, Eastern and Southern Africa, and Latin and North America. After anchoring the LogoLink network for the past five years, IDS is now in the process of handing over the coordinating role for the network to the LogoLink partner in Brazil.

Partnerships between developed and developing countries, even for research, are not without problems and risks in implementation. Though the need for such partnerships has long been emphasised by Southern researchers and by the Southern research networks (CLACSO, CODESRIA, ADIPA, etc.) – recall the booklet on *New Forms of Collaboration in Development Research and Training*⁴⁴ – partnership in the past has generally fallen far short of the full objective. One important difference today is that DFID and many other funders have recognised the benefits of such partnerships. But this does not dispose of all the risks. What happens if the topics to be researched, the approaches chosen or the results emerging begin to produce results which are strongly at variance with the prevailing policies and approaches of DFID, other main donor countries or the dominant international agencies, especially the World Bank and the IMF?⁴⁵ IDS has experienced the fallout from such contradictions at different times in the past, when considerable tensions have arisen with the government in power. The same could happen again.

Although there are naturally echoes of earlier themes, including some from the first ten years of IDS, no one reviewing this list could possibly suggest that the agenda has not moved on in major ways. Moreover, the emphasis on collaborative partnerships – and the number of them with organisations in developing countries – far exceeds the ambitions, let alone the reality, of any earlier period in the Institute. IDS at its fortieth anniversary in 2006 was alive, well, and still evolving.

44 This has recently been reprinted as part of Petitat-Cote (1999).

45 The World Bank has guarded against some of these risks by concentrating their own research funding on development researchers working within a neo-classical economic paradigm, and ignoring most of the work done by researchers such as those in CODESRIA.

Part 2 The evolution of IDS thinking and focus

A progression in IDS thinking and focus can be traced over the decades, though it is far from a simple evolution. Nor does it imply that at any time those in IDS held anything like a single view on development. Contrary to some outside impressions, IDS has always been a pluralist institution. Also, to some extent, the changes within IDS mirrored changes in development thinking and preoccupations more generally, though at its best IDS was a front runner and sometimes a leader on its own. The significant landmarks in IDS thinking seem, with hindsight (to me at least), to be the following:

- **Early work by Dudley Seers on the meaning of development**, *de facto* infusing IDS with a broad view encompassing poverty reduction, employment and income distribution, together with a measure of independence.
- **Employment strategy and Redistribution with Growth.** The ILO-IDS Employment Missions of the early 1970s combined analysis with policy in the context of Colombia, Sri Lanka and Kenya, thus providing a frame for structural analysis of these central issues. This led on to the IDS-World Bank project on Redistribution with Growth.
- **Shifting the frames and focus of analysis.** The village studies project shifted focus from countries to villages, in parallel with the emphasis on the development perspectives of poor people. Later, the emphasis on administration moved to what determines access in public services and administration. Education and health became an important topic in the second half of the 1970s.
- **Participation and the perspectives of poor people.** This focus on different situations at local level was reinforced by work on rural development and then carried much further from the 1970s to the 1990s by the growing momentum of work on participation, moving from rapid rural appraisal through participatory development to participatory democracy and participatory research. This led to ever greater questioning of outsider perceptions, reflected in ‘whose reality counts?’ and increasing attention to communities, both rural and urban.
- **Women and gender as integral dimensions of development** arose as an area of interest in the mid-1970s. It soon attracted growing and ever stronger attention to and concern with inequalities of resources and power relations within households and society.
- **National development in a world of unequal international relations.** Greatly influenced by Hans Singer’s perspectives, from the beginning IDS has focused on the ways in which national development was generally set in a difficult, if not hostile, international environment.
- **Science and technology and transnational corporations.** Over the years, IDS thinking about the sources of this inequality have shifted markedly – from declines in primary commodity prices to an ever sharper focus on the nature of technology and who controls its development, as well as the roles of

transnational corporations. Tracing through the specifics at every stage of the connections between developed and developing countries became a major focus for research, beginning in the 1970s but continuing to the value chains of research in the 1990s and the Asian Drivers programme today as well as the misuse and distortions of science in the KNOTS programmes.

- **Applying development thinking to developed countries.** This became a side interest of IDS almost from the beginning and IDS hosted a major project on core-periphery relations in Europe in the late 1970s – though this faded somewhat after the death of Dudley Seers in 1983.
- **Alternatives to structural adjustment and debt relief.** By the 1980s, structural adjustment became the dominant preoccupation for policy internationally and in most of Africa and Latin America. IDS rapidly became a dissenting voice.
- **Questioning development orthodoxy.** Orthodoxy grew ever stronger with the dogmatism of structural adjustment in the 1980s, then with the Washington Consensus. IDS challenged both in *State and Markets and Governing the Market*. This led to demolishing myths in other key areas – deforestation, environment and even in gender in the 1990s.
- **Broader views on governance and democracy.** With the collapse of the Soviet Union, a democratic triumphalism swept the West. IDS explored more cautious and nuanced views of governance and democracy in developing countries, including conflict and post-conflict countries, focusing on issues of decentralisation, local government and taxation.
- **A growing emphasis on the importance of outreach, communications and knowledge sharing,** with a focus not only on promoting IDS research but research and development thinking more broadly within the UK and beyond.
- **Values, ethics and commitment – an ethos of ‘walking the talk’.** Personal commitment and activism for development has been a key value of many IDS staff members from the outset, though naturally with many differences and variations between individuals. It has perhaps been most evident in the Institute’s work on participation and in gender studies and gender action.

In each of these areas, IDS has had an evolving approach, dynamic not static, exploratory not dogmatic. Some reminders of the key influences and stages in the advances may be useful, even at the risk of some repetition of key contributions summarised in Part 1. The following four pages comment briefly on six of the above issues – the meaning of development, shifts in the frame of analysis, participation and the perspectives of poor people, empowerment and the perspectives of women, unequal international relations and science, technology and transnational corporations. There is also a brief section on ethics and commitment.

2.1 The meaning of development

The fundamental question, ‘what is development?’⁴⁶ was tackled head-on by Dudley Seers in a 1969 speech, much quoted at the time and subsequently.⁴⁷ As Dudley put it:

The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development', even if per capita income doubled.

(Seers 1969)

Though poverty reduction is today internationally accepted as one of the main objectives of development and the core of the Millennium Development Goals, this cannot yet be said of employment and income inequality, the two other elements on which Dudley focused. Moreover, even in the world of the post-Washington Consensus, increasing the *rate* of growth of GNP per capita is still endlessly cited as the single most important route towards poverty reduction, with barely a mention of employment, distribution, the structure of growth or other conditions helping to ensure that the growth is pro-poor. And even with poverty reduction being taken today as a central objective, it is important to recall the many years since the 1970s when this was not the priority. Indeed, on a number of occasions over the last four decades, IDS has been challenged by DFID *not* to treat poverty reduction so centrally. To talk about poverty in aid discussions with many countries would, it was said in earlier years, be embarrassing.

In this 1969 statement on the meaning of development, Dudley made another equally fundamental point, which influenced work in IDS. This was that development must include attention to

... adequate educational levels (especially literacy), participation in government and belonging to a nation that is truly independent, both economically and politically, in the sense that the views of other governments do not largely predetermine one's own government decisions.

From a long-term viewpoint, economic growth is for a poor country a necessary condition of reducing poverty. But it is not a sufficient condition. To release the development potential of a high rate of economic growth depends on policy. A country where economic growth is slow or negligible may be busy reshaping its political institutions so that, when growth comes, it will mean development; such a country could develop faster in the long run than one at present enjoying fast growth but with political power remaining firmly in the

46 Some may be surprised to learn that earlier in the 1960s, before he joined IDS, Dudley Seers had stated in an article that the central economic question of our time is why do some economies grow faster than others? But by 1969, Dudley had moved on, in part influenced, as he said, by the failures of growth in the 1960s to improve living standards by the three tests he gave.

47 Speech to the Society of International Development (SID) at their World Conference, November 1969, New Delhi. The article was published in the *International Development Review* in 1969 and reprinted in 1997 in *Development* 40.1, March 1997: 39–45.

hands of a rich minority. It would be interesting to compare, for example, what happens in Cuba and Brazil in the remainder of the century.⁴⁸

This idea that development was both multidimensional and political, with winners and losers, was the fundamental premise from which many other more specific IDS contributions stemmed in later years.⁴⁹

2.2 Shifts in the frames of analysis

In parallel with the above shifts of *focus*, were equally significant shifts in the *frame of analysis*. In *The Limitations of the Special Case*, Dudley had argued that structural differences between countries were crucial and neglected by much neo-classical economic analysis (Seers 1963). The focus of Dudley's structuralist analysis was always on countries and this continued throughout his life. Indeed, he collected country experiences like others collected pictures or antiques, even wines or stamps. In IDS, he led the way in contrasting the development patterns and life cycles of oil producers (Trinidad and Tobago, Nigeria, Scotland in the 1970s, even Saudi Arabia), developing countries trying the socialist route (Cuba, Chile under Allende, Portugal in its radical phase), those facing employment problems (Colombia and Ceylon), and developed countries on the periphery of more developed regions (the outer rim of Europe, including Scotland, Spain and Portugal). In his final book, Dudley commented that: 'the world is a great laboratory of social experiments, but to take advantage of this wealth of experience one has to work in a variety of countries: the information available in print is biased and very partial' (Seers 1983: ix-x). He then listed the 35 or so countries where he had spent time, counting only those where he had done some substantive work and stayed for a month or more. This led him to speculate on the biases of his perceptions towards smaller countries, because of his lack of feel for the larger countries he had *not* worked in – including China, India, the United States and the Soviet Union. He added that the world was inconveniently large to cover in one lifetime!

In total contrast, the second frame for analysis in the early days of IDS was the village. In a brilliant leap of the imagination Michael Lipton argued that what mattered for the typical rural person, especially poor person, was not the sort of country he or she lived in but what sort of village: was it a village dependent on rain-fed agriculture or irrigation; was it a village of overpopulation and out-migration or one needing in-migration of additional labour? As explained in the previous section, Michael established the village studies project and assembled over 2,000 village studies from which such issues could be explored with an analysis in which the village was the central unit.

48 Dudley's last question can now be answered. According to UNDP's 2005 *Human Development Report*, in 2003 Cuba was ranked 52nd among countries counted as High Human Development with a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.82. Brazil was ranked 63rd with an HDI of 0.792, among countries of medium human development.

49 I am grateful to Carlos Fortin for emphasising this point and reminding me of the second part of this quote from Dudley.

Rural work did not collapse but shifted. Over the 1980s, irrigation and rural productivity became major points of research, with an explicit focus on distribution issues even more than on productivity and efficiency. Later in the 1980s and 1990s, the emphasis shifted to livelihoods.

2.3 Participation and the perspectives of poor people

There were other significant advances in the meaning of development in the 1970s. Perhaps the most important was the work on participation and seasonality by Robert Chambers and others which changed understandings of the meaning of development and made realities in the lives of poor people an increasing element of IDS work over the following three decades. If IDS had had more sociologists and anthropologists, this shift might have been faster, though probably there would not have been as much work on the mis-perceptions of outsiders, the possibilities of rapid rural appraisal, participatory research and the need for giving voice to the poor themselves, through participatory approaches and empowerment.

2.4 Empowerment and the perspectives of women

The second major shift in the 1970s emerged as the frame for the work of Kate Young and the SOW collective. Women and gender relations became a growing and increasingly important focus of IDS work on development, though not without scepticism and major doubts. Initially there was widespread opposition, not just to implications for development policy but conceptually: in what way were issues of women and gender part of development or development studies? This was echoed within IDS and by DFID, during the preparation of the IDS fourth quinquennium plan. It was only much later that empowerment to tackle violations of human rights and gross imbalances in power relations across the whole spectrum, from household and village to region and nation became accepted as an integrating frame in which issues of women and gender were brought in from the ignored periphery to centre stage.

2.5 Unequal international relations

The evolution of IDS thinking in this area has been important. Hans Singer played a key role – but almost always with others at IDS and in SPRU. Key figures have been Charles Cooper, Raphie Kaplinsky, Hubert Schmitz, Stephany Griffith-Jones, Chris Stevens, Robin Murray and, in more recent times, John Humphrey.

The Prebisch-Singer thesis focused on the inequalities between rich and poorer countries, attributing the inequalities to differences in the terms of trade over the long run between commodities and industrial goods.⁵⁰ In the early 1970s, Hans

50 More properly called the Singer-Prebisch thesis after the careful detective work of John Toye and Richard Toye showed that, strictly speaking, Hans Singer's work preceded that of Prebisch.

revisited this thesis and put more emphasis on relations between types of *countries* rather than types of *commodities* and more emphasis on *technological power and innovation* at the roots of the imbalance between the poorer and richer countries in the contemporary world. As he put it: 'It is not so much a matter of primary commodities versus manufactures [as ...] a question of low technology production – whether primary or manufacturing – versus high technology production.' Hans no longer saw industrialisation as 'the great saviour'.⁵¹ As he acknowledged, he had not foreseen in his 1949 article that 'even national industrialisation specifically geared to the home market could become the basis of a continuing and self-reinforcing relationship of dependency.' The two critical factors he had missed included the characteristics of a dominant technology based on an 'R&D monopoly' in the investing countries and 'the structure of centralised decision-making' in the multinational corporations.

Hans recognised that the salvation of the developing countries lay not in gaining power through industrialisation based on the technology of the advanced countries but in the Schumpeterian vision of 'technological leadership'. 'The target must be to bring the objectives of R&D expenditure into line with the distribution of the world's population.' If that was achieved, 'the uneven distribution of gains from trade and investment will begin to look after itself.'

2.6 Science and technology and transnational corporations

This view of the central importance of science and technology underlay the Sussex Manifesto on Science and Technology, issued in 1971. The links between development and technology were further pursued by Charles Cooper and others in SPRU and IDS – indeed, much more in SPRU, though Charles and Raphie always served as links. It was also an important part of the work on transnational corporations by Constantine Vaitsos and Robin Murray, both emphasising how control of technology and patents gave transnational corporations power to set prices. The integrated nature of transnational corporations, with operations in many countries, also gave them disproportionate bargaining power over developing countries – for instance over rates of taxation and, more important, where their global profits were accrued and thus the effective rates of tax. In parallel with this work was that of Mike Faber, Roland Brown and Philip Daniel on strengthening the bargaining position of developing countries in relation to transnational corporations.

With the surge in oil prices and the creation of OPEC, there was a brief emphasis in the 1970s on the New International Economic Order (NIEO), but when this faded at the end of the 1970s, IDS moved to the role of critic, focusing on the weaknesses of stabilisation and structural adjustment and the repercussions on growth, the public sector and the human situation in developing countries. This, along with debt, remained a dominant focus of IDS international work during the 1980s, with a particular spotlight on Africa and Latin America.

51 As John Shaw comments in his biography of Hans Singer (2002).

In the late 1990s, came debates on globalisation and how international policy could operate to ensure a fairer deal for the poorer and weaker countries. The international focus has more recently shifted in less normative directions to the Asian Drivers. Here IDS has again been forthright, drawing attention to the way the rapid expansion of China and India are driving a whole new dynamic in the world economy, with major repercussions in both developed and developing countries.

2.7 Ethics and commitment

Over the years, personal commitment to development has been part of the institutional ingredients of IDS. Hans Singer often referred to his identification with those oppressed or facing discrimination, which he attributed to being brought up as a member of a minority within a minority within a minority and to coming as he did as a political refugee to England in the 1930s. Dudley Seers, though without such personal experience, did much in the 1970s to help many escape from Chile after Pinochet had overthrown the Allende regime. Robert Chambers in many of his books has focused on ‘the primacy of the personal’ and argued that ‘personal belief, behaviour, and being are the crux’ (Chambers 1997: 231–2). There are many others for whom development is not an abstract topic for study but part of a personal and political agenda for making the world a better place.

Part 3 A fortieth anniversary balance sheet

Drawing up a balance sheet for a research institute is difficult. What exactly are or have been the outputs, especially when ideas are among the most important outputs? How can one measure the impact of ideas? And when, as is often said, all good ideas have many parents (and bad ideas, none!), how can one honestly attribute to one institute, or to a few individuals within it, some share of the ideas which the institute helped to give birth to or promote?

As if these issues were not difficult enough, the questions are even more complicated in the case of an institute like IDS, where the ultimate focus of concern is not on progress in the country where it is located but in some 150 developing countries elsewhere and the people, especially poorer and marginalised people, living within them. Does recognising IDS as an institute receiving some half of its funding from public funds with a special obligation to contribute to *British* policy towards the developing countries, make answering these questions any easier? British governments have changed their stance to developing countries enormously over this period – from reluctant to eager supporters of de-colonisation, from active engagement in ‘development’ to coolness and neglect of anything much beyond trade. Labour governments have been in power for just under half the 40 years, Conservative governments for slightly more – and attitudes to developing countries have swung within both regimes. Which aspects of policy might IDS have influenced, directly or indirectly – and would it be sensible to concentrate only on these, even if it had been possible? At least one student in an early IDS seminar praised Britain for its imperial contributions. ‘If nothing else’, he argued, ‘it was the experience of imperialism which galvanised us to fight back and achieve our independence!’

Given these complications, can one do more than cite IDS efforts to influence the shifting debates of development policy and action? There are certainly many indications that IDS has been a significant contributor of ideas and research findings, training and policy advice, as well as direct action through IDS Fellows and other staff more directly involved in policymaking positions or in consultancy. How important the net balance of these contributions has been over time, only a much longer analysis and the more precise tracking of specific ideas and influences can tell.

The impact of research on policy and action is far from being a straightforward linear process. Indeed, it is a fallacy to conceptualise it in such a manner – though a fallacy often believed. In contrast, the process is more complicated. Ideas and research findings can alter (i) the ways development issues are perceived, (ii) the ways different interest groups assess their own interests and, (iii) agendas for development action by governments or donors and (iv) the roles and terms of reference of institutions, including of NGOs. Each of the ideas listed in the previous section as major contributions of the Institute has had an impact in at least some of these ways, often in all four of them. And, as noted, there is no simple sequence to these interactions and impacts. A single publication can lead to fundamental changes – but sometimes only after a steady stream of publications on a sustained and important theme. In some cases, few changes can be observed and perhaps

none at all. Often the most important changes are those brought by an individual researcher joining an institution and bringing along new ways of thinking, new skills or new perceptions.

All this sets the stage for noting various ways in which IDS ideas and individuals may have made their contributions over the last 40 years.

3.1 Publications and communications

Over the years IDS has produced a vast number of books, research reports, articles and discussion papers, almost all dutifully listed in the Annual Reports and the annual catalogues of IDS publications. Many were originally issued in various forms and all, in principle, can be found in the archives of the IDS Library – and certainly the archives contain a treasure trove for anyone wanting to trace through IDS contributions to a particular theme.⁵² Little would be gained here by attempting a full count or listing. The purpose of the first and second part of this history was precisely to identify those which I felt were most significant.

One measure of IDS influence and leadership can be found in some of the books published that list leading persons in the world of development. David Simon recently compiled a list of *Fifty Key Thinkers on Development* (Simon 2006) for a book in a Routledge series which also includes *Fifty Major Economists*, *Fifty Major Political Thinkers* and *Fifty Key Thinkers on the Environment*.⁵³ His selection included six present or past Fellows of IDS: Robert Chambers, Michael Lipton, Dudley Seers, Hans Singer, Paul Streeten, and myself; a former IDS research officer, Diane Elson; two Visiting Fellows, Harold Brookfield and Gerry Helleiner; and three who had been IDS Governors – Gunnar Myrdal, Raul Prebisch and Amartya Sen. Twelve out of 50 is not bad out of a list which also includes Marx, Malthus, Gandhi, Mao, Nkrumah and Nyerere, as well as some other living contemporaries such as Cardoso, Stiglitz and Samir Amin.

Other such lists also include some of the IDS stars. *A Biographical Dictionary of Dissenting Economists* includes among the 90 dissenters three former Fellows of IDS – Dudley Seers, Hans Singer and Paul Streeten (Arestis and Sawyer 1992). The World Bank publication, *Pioneers in Development* (originally planned as a joint Bank-IDS conference and publication) includes Hans Singer as one of the ten pioneers and had Michael Lipton and Paul Streeten as commentators with Dudley and Gerry Meier as co-editors. Judgements differ, however, and Mark Blaug's *Great*

52 The writings of Dudley Seers and Hans Singer have been individually indexed and are more or less complete. Other publications are also available in the Library, arranged in sections by author.

53 David Simon, a geographer, explains in the preface his difficulty in narrowing down a first list of some 200 names to the final 50. He readily recognised that there could be no universal consensus but ended up with a selection including some modernisers, some dependency theorists, some progressives, some political leaders with alternative visions of development, some progenitors of religiously or spiritually inspired development, and some development-environment thinkers. Although I was genuinely surprised to find myself on the list, any tendency to self-satisfaction was muted when I read that the persons chosen 'should be close to the end of their active careers, if not retired or dead.'

Economists Since Keynes includes no one from IDS – although he does include two of the IDS past Governors, Gunnar Myrdal and Amartya Sen (Blaug 1985).⁵⁴

3.2 Significant contributions

Let me approach the balance sheet in terms of my own judgements. What do I list as the most important and positive IDS contributions to development studies and perspectives? If I had to choose twelve areas where IDS made a major impact, I would list the following:

1. Dudley Seers clarifying the meaning of development and ‘the limitations of the special case’.
2. Unequal relations between developed and developing countries, initiated by Hans Singer’s work on the biases in commodity trade, but embracing much subsequent work on technology and the operations of international institutions.
3. The IDS-ILO work on employment strategy, leading on to Redistribution with Growth.
4. Village studies and rural poverty led by Michael Lipton, leading on to development from the perspectives of poor people.
5. Pioneering work by Robert Chambers on participatory rural appraisal (PRA) leading on to participatory approaches to development and democracy.
6. Women and gender as integral but often neglected dimensions of development, beginning with the work on the subordination of women by Kate Young, moving to gender and the work of BRIDGE.
7. Core-periphery relations in Europe.
8. Structural adjustment and debt in the 1980s.
9. Innovative thinking on global trends and developments, including transfer pricing, global value chains and the rise of the ‘Asian Driver’ economies.
10. Work on economies in transition – such as Chile in the 1970s and South Africa in the 1990s.
11. Challenges to conventional thinking in development, across the whole field from the meaning of development, from growth and adjustment to environment and science. *States and Markets*, published in 1989 was a major challenge to the Washington Consensus as was Robert Wade’s *Governing the Market* of 1990 (Wade 1990).
12. IDS work in disseminating the findings of research, both its own research and that of others in other institutions within the UK also deserves to be listed. This includes the outreach activities of Eldis, LogoLink, BRIDGE and id21.

This list has a natural tendency to emphasise earlier IDS contributions, reflecting the benefit of a longer period in which to assess impact, probably also some bias in myself as a beholder. With more time to judge, the Institute’s work on KNOTS (knowledge, technology and society) or on governance in fragile states may emerge as fields where IDS originality and intellectual leadership will have made a sizeable impact.

54 This is not because he does not include a number who are development economists – Irma Adelman, Hollis Chenery, Al Hirschman, Arthur Lewis, IMD Little, T.W. Schultz, and Joe Stiglitz. Clearly judgements differ and Mark Blaug’s list was of more mainstream economists.

3.3 Omissions, gaps and failures

What about the omissions, gaps and failures – IDS work which led nowhere or never even got started?

Human development is the main area where I believe IDS today could and should be more active. Amartya Sen (and Martha Nussbaum) and UNDP's *Human Development Report* office have paved the way for 15 years and opened up a whole new way of looking at development and incorporating into one synthesis wellbeing, human rights, human security and participation. There is much more work to be done to strengthen and give depth and empirical content to the human development frame of analysis and how it can illuminate and change many approaches to policy. IDS has much which it could contribute to this.

In the 1970s, I believe we should have done more critical work on basic needs. Today, I believe IDS could do more on the Millennium Development Goals.⁵⁵ This would not so much mean investigating the finer points of what holds education and health back among poorer communities, or even how participatory approaches can do more to help their realisation, but much more to do with analysing the necessary complementary actions and approaches – for instance of economic and social strategy – and the ways in which international strategy and action could do more to help and less to hinder national action.

Improving global governance, especially UN actions and activities but also those of the EU and OECD, is a third area which deserves more priority. At a time when IDS rightly emphasises the need for more work in partnership, a focus on the activities and roles of the UN would provide a frame for just such partnerships.

Some might say that IDS should have done – or do – more work on aid and aid relationships. I would disagree. This is an area on which ODI, started before IDS in 1960, has long focused attention and produced a long stream of high-quality publications. There was no need for IDS to duplicate this work.

3.4 Relations with DFID

With the benefit of hindsight, one can see that IDS has led the way in many areas that DFID was slow or even initially reluctant to adopt, but which DFID later made mainstream. The most obvious is poverty reduction, which IDS argued – from the early 1970s – should be a central concern for development and development aid, long before this became DFID priority or a matter of international consensus. At the same time, IDS has over most of its 40 years been an insistent voice in making the case – and showing by research – that poverty reduction involves much more than a simple acceleration of economic growth; it requires an economic, social and political re-orientation of the whole process of a country's development. IDS has never suggested that this would be easy, but it has identified, supported and promoted many approaches which have contributed directly to this effort – not

55 Notwithstanding Howard White's important work on the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) and targets, especially during his secondment to the World Bank.

the least through its pioneering work on participation and gender equity. And in the 1980s IDS was a warning voice about the extremes of structural adjustment and, later, about the dangers of pursuing a narrow neoliberal orthodoxy.

And there were also many other issues explored or promoted by IDS, a good number of which filtered into DFID in one way or another. For years the *IDS Bulletin* has been routinely circulated within DFID and is read by a range of staff, many of whom then turned to IDS for help and advice. Over the years, IDS staff have also provided more specialised briefings within DFID, and DFID staff have come down to IDS for seminars on various topics. It would be nice to think that the generally acknowledged high level of development professionalism and leadership of DFID within the donor world is in part due to direct and indirect support from IDS – and no doubt from other development institutions and groups in the UK.

IDS has contributed more directly to the work of DFID, following the pioneering work of Dudley Seers and Paul Streeten as Director-General and Deputy Director-General in the 1960s, who helped to lay the very foundations of economic policy in DFID. Over the years, other IDS Fellows and students have entered DFID, and other UK development organisations, often rising to senior positions. These include (but are by no means limited to):

Box 3.1 Former IDS staff and students with leading roles in DFID and UK development organisations*

- Adrian Wood, senior economist at DFID, from 2000–2005
- Susanna Moorhead, currently head of DFID in India
- Mark Robinson, currently head of Governance in DFID
- Paul Spray, Director of Research at DFID, following a period with Christian Aid
- John Gaventa – Chair of Oxfam-GB
- Simon Maxwell – Director of ODI

** The information in this box (and all boxes in the paper) is as accurate as we could make it at the time of going to press but it is incomplete. The IDS Alumni Office will be pleased to hear from anyone with other names and more up-to-date information.*

3.5 IDS contributions to the UN, the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO

A list of IDS alumni playing key roles in Britain is absurdly too narrow a focus to assess the influence and contribution of a UK institute of development studies. IDS alumni are currently working in a wide range of national and international positions. Although records are incomplete, we can note that IDS graduates are working in the following UN agencies and funds: UN: FAO, ILO, IMF, PAHO, UNCTAD, UNHCR, UNIDO, West African Health Organization, WHO, WTO. They are also working in country or regional offices of WFP, UNICEF, UNIFEM, UNDP. A number are also working in Regional Development Banks – the African Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Box 3.2 IDS members in leadership positions of international organisations

- UNCTAD: Carlos Fortin was Deputy Secretary-General of UNCTAD from 1990 to 2005, having previously been Director of the Commodities Division from 1990 to 1994. John Toye was for two years Director of the Globalisation and Development Strategies Division, responsible for the UNCTAD flagship publication *Trade and Development Report*.
- UNIFEM: Noeleen Heyzer, at IDS in the 1970s, has been UNIFEM's Executive Director since the late 1990s.
- UNICEF and UNDP: Richard Jolly was Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF from 1982 to 1995 and Economic Adviser to the UNDP Administrator and Principal Coordinator of the *Human Development Report* from 1995 to 2000.
- WORLD BANK: Geoff Lamb was a Vice-President of the World Bank.
- PSI: Alan Leather is Deputy General Secretary of Public Services International.
- NGLS: Tony Hill is Coordinator of the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service. Roy Laishley is with UN-NGLS in New York.
- Harriet Lamb (MP9) is Executive Director of the Fair Trade Foundation.

The following have also made major contributions to international institutions, primarily in the areas of research and analysis:

Box 3.3 IDS members in research and analytical positions of international organisations

- UN: Adnan Amin was Chief of the Reform Secretariat in the office of the Secretary-General.
- ECLAC: Ricardo Carciofi (DP86) is Senior Economic Advisor in Santiago.
- UNESCO: Chris Colclough was Director of the Education For All Global Monitoring Report from 2002 to 2007.
- UNIFEM: Diane Elson was Senior Economist and Anne Marie Goetz is currently Senior Adviser.
- DESA, CEPAL and IDA: Stephany Griffith-Jones has held research positions in all three, as well as undertaking research for many other international organisations.
- IFAD: Michael Lipton helped to formulate the focus and founding procedures of IFAD and has undertaken consultancies on rural development for many other UN agencies and the World Bank.
- WTO: Patrick Low (DP81) is Director, Economic Research and Statistics.
- WORLD BANK: Adrian Wood was for many years a senior economist in the World Bank and John Oxenham was in the Economic Development Institute (EDI). Howard White is working on the Millennium Development Goals and Robin Mearns (MP13) currently works with the World Bank in Vietnam.
- Islamic Development Bank: Mohamed Samatar (DP84) was until recently head of the Operations Evaluation Office; Parmesh Shah (DP97) had a major role in developing the Bank's participatory methods.
- WFP: John Shaw, one of IDS's first Visiting Fellows, went on to hold a succession of positions in the World Food Programme for over 30 years, finally as Chief of the Policy Affairs Unit.
- UNCTAD: Tes Tesfachew (DP82) currently works as Special Assistant to the DG.
- World Bank: Robert Wade worked in the 1980s as a researcher and wrote the chapter on 'Environment' in the *World Bank History* (Wade 1997).

3.6 IDS alumni in developing countries

It is virtually impossible to summarise the many contributions made by IDS staff and former students within developing countries. Over the years, more than 2,000 students from developing countries have attended short courses at IDS and near to 500 taken the MPhil and other graduate courses. Many of these speak enthusiastically and positively about their time at IDS; some with experience of other institutions rate IDS very highly and sometimes at the top. However, it is virtually impossible to judge what the ultimate impact is. Within developing countries, a number of IDS students or staff have risen to senior positions. These include:

Box 3.4 IDS alumni in senior positions or leadership in the South

- Festus Mogae is President of Botswana (he attended one of the early IDS study seminars as well as being a University of Sussex student).
- Quazi Alam (MP1) became Cabinet Secretary of the government of Bangladesh in 2001.
- Jorge Giordani is Minister of Planning and Development in Venezuela and Bernardo Alvarez is Venezuelan Ambassador to Washington.
- Raizel Ismail is Head of the South African delegation to WTO and chair of the G-77 group.
- Faustina Ward Osborne (MA1) is an outspoken political activist in the Caribbean.
- Hala Shukrallah (MA5) is an outspoken political activist in the Middle East and Director of the Development Support Centre for Training and Consultation in Egypt.
- Mohammad Shtayyeh (DP90) is Minister for Public Works and Housing, Palestine.
- Jesoni Vitusagavulu (MP9) is Fiji's Ambassador to the USA.
- Ricardo Lagos Weber is Minister of Government in Chile.
- Minister for External Finance and Debt, Costa Rica in the mid-1980s.

The South Commission, based at the South Centre in Geneva, has been an important focus for research on issues of major concern for developing countries. Carlos Fortin was Director of Programmes 1988–90, when Manmohan Singh, India's present Prime Minister, was Director. Ann Zammit, an IDS Research Officer in the 1970s, has for many years been attached to the South Centre.

IDS alumni are also working in universities and research institutes in many parts of the world: Botswana, Chittagong, Karachi, Kenyatta, Khartoum, Makerere, Malawi, Papua New Guinea, Quebec at Montreal, Mexico (UNAM), Natal, South Pacific, Universidad Católica de Chile, Universiti Sains Malaysia and University of the Western Cape, as well as in Bath, Bradford, Leeds, Oxford, and right here in Sussex. Frank Ellis (DP79), Jonathan Kydd (DP85), Keith Lewin (DP81), Angela Little (DP82), Ruth Pearson (DP81), Mick Moore (DP81), Ibrahim El-Nur (DP88) and Mammo Muchie (MP4, DP87) all became professors in some area of development studies in the UK or overseas and headed up centres or departments.

And within development institutions of the North, a number of IDS alumni have been playing important roles:

Box 3.5 IDS alumni in Northern development organisations and leadership positions

- Manal Ahmed Elehemier (MA4) is an activist who completed her degree, settled in Brighton, rose up the ranks of the Brighton Council, and became Head of Equalities and Community Cohesion. She has now returned to Sudan to help out with consultancy and capacity building training – a nice example of how an IDS degree can help with development in Britain and in the South.
- Meharoona Ghani (MA14) is Manager for the Anti-Racism and Multicultural Unit of the Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's services with the Provincial Government of British Colombia.
- Joanna Kerr (MA4) is an advisor and strategist working with numerous organisations towards advancing women's rights internationally including, currently, the Nobel Women's Initiative, The Stephen Lewis Foundation, Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice, Open Society Institute, the UN Trust Fund on Violence Against Women (at UNIFEM) and The Mothers Trust.
- Diane Morcom (MP2) is Secretary to the Cabinet of the Government of New Zealand.
- George Scharffenberger (MP2) is President of Volunteers in Technical Assistance (VITA) in the USA.
- Nigel Brooke (DP80), Robert Chambers (Fellow), Sarah Cook (Fellow), Jocelyn de Jong (MP10), Richard Longhurst (DP81), Mark Robinson (Fellow) all worked for the Ford Foundation.

Part 4 A final word

IDS had reason to celebrate its fortieth anniversary in good heart. It is in good health – intellectually, financially, in staff and structure and in its standing internationally and in the UK. Relations with DFID are as positive as ever, in part because the new competitive funding arrangements are working well for IDS without special favours from DFID.

DFID's support for development research has grown and broadened, to the point where development thinking and research in the UK is probably stronger than in any other developed country. The IDS which DFID created may no longer stand alone as a special institution, but it continues to play a leading part with others as one of the major development institutions of Europe as well as of the UK.

At the same time, no institution concerned with development and international relations, with developing countries and with poverty reduction can rest easily now:

- Large parts of the world are torn by conflict – Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon most obviously – with repercussions over most of the Middle East and in much of the Muslim world. Apart from these all preoccupying examples, many other countries are torn by internal conflict, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.
- Most of sub-Saharan Africa and most poor countries elsewhere are falling behind on progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, with all that this means for failures to reduce the unacceptably large numbers of poor people living in dire poverty.
- The need to improve global governance far exceeds the practical politics of strengthening the UN and the rest of the international system required to achieve this.
- In spite of the impressive attention to aid and international development at the Gleneagles G8 meeting in 2005, there has since been a serious international flagging of concern and commitment, as political attention has shifted to the Middle East and the politics and fears of terrorism.

Notwithstanding these serious and desperate diversions from the underlying issues of global injustice, inequality and poverty, IDS is not distracted. One can do no better than to end by quoting the current Director, Lawrence Haddad. 'Let's hope that political pressure can be maintained, but if international development does slip from the headlines, IDS will continue to make our contribution to finding innovative, practical, real-world solutions to real-world problems.'

Appendix A1

Table A1 IDS finance and staff 1966–2007

	Income £000s	Accountable DFID grant £000s (%)	Expend- iture £000s	Staff	
				Fellows	Other
1966–67	51	47 (92)	51	4	8
1971–72	316	198 (63)	292	20	40
1976–77	1,136	821 (72)	1,010	38	130
1981–82	2,197	1,191 (54)	1,700	34	89
1986–87	2,693	1,293 (48)	2,638	32	85
1991–92*	5,061	2,145 (42)	4,382	41	100
1996–97	5,745	1,900 (33)	5,759	40	122
2001–02	10,885	–	10,407		166
2005–06	12,313	–	11,881	38	186

*Change of financial year from July year end to March year end – therefore accounts in March 1992 cover 8 months figures. These have been adjusted here to reflect a full year.

Source: compiled by David Smith, Head of Finance and Administration (2003–2006).

Appendix A2

Table A2 IDS Directors, Deputy Directors, Fellows and others who have been at the Institute for 15 years or more

IDS Directors	Deputy Directors
Dudley Seers 1968–72 Richard Jolly 1972–81 Mike Faber 1982–87 John Toye 1987–97 Keith Bezanson 1997–2004 Lawrence Haddad 2004–	Paul Streeten 1967–68 Len Joy 1968–69 Emanuel de Kadt 1969–76, ⁵⁶ (Academic Director) 1988–94 Geoff Lamb 1976–77 Charles Cooper 1978 Carlos Fortin ⁵⁷ 1980–85 Christopher Colclough 1986–? Susanna Davies ?–1997

Fellows and other academic staff	
In IDS for 35 years or more	For 30 years or more
Raphie Kaplinsky 1972–2007 Mick Moore 1969– Hans Singer 1969–2006	Robert Chambers 1972– David Evans 1973–2005 (1973–1997 as Fellow, and Associate until 2004) Martin Greeley 1974– Stephany Griffiths-Jones 1977– Charlie Harvey 1972–2002 Henry Lucas 1975– Robin Luckham 1973– Malcolm Segall 1973–2006

In IDS for 25 years or more	For 20 years or more
Chris Colclough 1974–2004 Emanuel de Kadt 1969–94 Reg Green 1975–2000 Michael Lipton 1966–94 Hubert Schmitz 1977– Jeremy Swift 1978–2002	Gerry Bloom 1985– Carlos Fortin 1975–1992 Mick Howes 1976–97 Susan Joekes 1977–2001 Naila Kabeer 1986– Robin Murray 1970–93 Gordon White 1977–98

⁵⁶ Acting Director from July to October 1976 and in 1978.

⁵⁷ Acting Director from January to April 1982.

IDS Fellows for about 15 years or more	Institute Administrators
<p>Manfred Bienefeld 1972–89</p> <p>Stephen Biggs 1973–80</p> <p>Biplap Dasgupta 1972–86</p> <p>Ron Dore 1970–1982</p> <p>Mike Faber 1982–94</p> <p>Anne Marie Goetz 1991–</p> <p>Martin Godfrey 1974–91</p> <p>John Humphrey 1987–</p> <p>Geoff Lamb 1971–81</p> <p>Melissa Leach 1990–</p> <p>Angela Little 1974–87</p> <p>James Manor 1987–2007</p> <p>Simon Maxwell 1981–97</p> <p>Susanna Moorehead 1984–98</p> <p>Rita Cruise O'Brien 1973–83</p> <p>John Oxenham 1973–90</p> <p>Mark Robinson 1992–2007</p> <p>Bernard Schaffer 1967–84</p> <p>Percy Selwyn 1968–82</p> <p>Chris Stevens 1992–2006</p> <p>Dudley Seers 1967–83</p> <p>Robert Wade 1972–96*</p> <p>Adrian Wood 1986–2000</p> <p>Kate Young 1977–90</p>	<p>Tommy Gee (Administrative Secretary) 1965–85</p> <p>Jake Jacobs 1970–1</p> <p>Bruce Claxton (Secretary of IDS) 1985–1992</p> <p>John Sanders 1991–98</p> <p>Michael Cockerell 1999–2002 (Special Assistant to the Director 1998–9)</p> <p>Helen l'Anson 2001/2–3</p> <p>David Smith 2003–6</p> <p>Malcolm Barter 2006–</p>

* period included substantive absences or secondments to other institutions

Administrative and other staff in IDS for about 15 years or more

Central Administration	Finance
<p>Audrey Blin-Stoyle 1974–85</p> <p>Zoë Mars 1977–2004</p> <p>Maureen Norman 1973–98</p> <p>Francine Spencer 1969–2003 (Administrative Secretary 1991–2001)</p> <p>Nan Tattershall 1970–1993</p> <p>Ros Woodhouse 1978–2007</p>	<p>Bruce Claxton 1977–1992</p> <p>Sue Pafford 1981–2003</p> <p>Alison Smith 1990–2004</p>
Library Staff	Teaching Administration
<p>Meryl Allmey 1976–1990</p> <p>Michael Bloom 1978–2006</p> <p>Helen Clement 1981–1997</p>	<p>Philippa Baxter 1978–1995</p> <p>Angela Dowman 1976–</p> <p>Felicity Harrison 1976–2007</p>

Library Staff	Teaching Administration
Janet Cooper 1989– Barbara Degenhardt 1978–95 Janet Doe 1992–2007 Betty Downey 1967–1997 Jim Downey 1967–1995 Isabel Dungate 1968–1993 Huw Evans 1970–1992 Liz Fernando 1972–95 Rosabel Foster 1975–97 Maureen Mahoney 1978–1998 Helen Rehin 1990– Meg Rew 1975–1997 Chitra Richardson 1974–2000 Mike Rogers, Librarian 1969–1987 Margaret St Clair 1974–1997 Sheila Watson 1976–2001	Sue Ong 1988–
Information, and Communications and Publications	Housekeeping and Catering
Bridget Osborn 1974–1989 Ann Segrave 1974–1993	Linda Greenfield 1977– Pat Walls 1976– Wendy Jupp 1988– Linda Miller 1975– Janet Berry 1988–2005 Hazel Cooper 1990– Vi Taylor 1979–98
Academic Support/ Team Administrators, and Central Services (Facilities)	CATS and ISU
Linda Bateman 1988– Nadine Beard 1985– Jean Brook-Rhodes 1983– Sheila Burgess 1975–2003 Kim Collins 1988–2003 Peter Esland 1988–2004 Diane Frazer-Smith 1991– Jeanne Grant 1992– Betty Grimes 1988–2006 Marion Huxley 1979– Annie Jamieson 1989–2005 Julie McWilliam 1989– Judi Minost 1989– Beverley Rowe 1984– Jo Stannard 1974–1992	Andrew Buxton 1991– Debbie Beer 1989–

Academic Support/Team Administrators, and Central Services (Facilities)	CATS and ISU
Joan Thomas 1976–1996 Carole Walton 1985–2005 Sinnnet Weber 1988– Dawn Widgery 1990–	

The above list of IDS long-term staff is as accurate as could be obtained when going to press. If anyone has further or different information, please contact Richard Jolly, or the Communications Team at the IDS editorial office.

Appendix A3 A 40-year timeline – world events, development events, IDS events and IDS publications

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publications	
1966		Mao launches Cultural Revolution in China				IDS founding conference held (September)		
1967	Che Guevara killed in Bolivia	6 Day War ends in victory for Israel over Arab alliance	European Community established	Asean established	Civil War breaks out in Nigeria as Biafra claims independence	Paul Streeten appointed Acting Director; first study seminars and courses		
1968	Prague Spring crushed by invading Soviet forces	Tet Offensive shows Vietnam War not won	Martin Luther King assassinated	McNamara becomes President of the World Bank		Dudley Seers appointed Director		
1969	Arafat becomes Head of PLO	US astronauts land on moon	Fighting in Northern Ireland	Pearson Commission report: <i>Partners in Development</i>		Crisis in Planning conference	D. Seers, <i>What are We Trying to Measure?</i>	
1970	Brandt opens talks with Warsaw Pact powers	Allende wins Chilean elections		Second Development Decade	Biafra capitulates, ending Nigerian civil war	ILO Mission to Colombia: the SS15 Affair	R. Dore, <i>The Late Development Effect</i>	L. Joy et al., <i>Three Papers on Food and Nutrition</i>
1971	China joins UN	India invades Pakistan; Bangladesh becomes independent	Nixon and Kissinger initiate 'detente' policy with USSR	Gold and dollar convertibility suspended	Idi Amin takes power in Uganda	ILO Mission to Ceylon	H. Singer et al., <i>The Sussex Manifesto</i>	
						Second quinquennium; first UK Development Conference	M. Faber and D. Seers, <i>The Crisis in Planning</i>	M. Lipton, <i>Aid Allocation when Aid is Inadequate</i>
1972	Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland and re-imposition of direct rule	Black September massacres at Munich Olympics	SALT I	Stockholm Environment Conference	McNamara gives major speech in Kenya on poverty	ILO Mission to Kenya: Richard Jolly appointed Director	H. Singer and R. Jolly, <i>Employment, Income, and Equality: A Strategy for expanding Productive Employment in Kenya</i>	O. Sunkel, <i>External Economic Relations and the Process of Development: A Latin American View</i>

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publications	
1973	US withdraws from Vietnam	Britain joins EEC	Yom Kippur War breaks out	Allende killed in coup	US aid to Israel precipitates Arab oil embargo and energy crisis	MPhil launched	Hollis Chenery, R. Jolly <i>et al.</i> , <i>Redistribution with Growth</i>	
1974	Willy Brandt resigns	IRA bombs London	Watergate hearings lead to Nixon's replacement by Ford	Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie deposed			C. Vaitsos, <i>Intercountry Income Distribution and Transnational Enterprises</i>	Lipton, M., <i>Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias and World Development</i>
							R. Green and H. Singer, <i>Towards a Rational and Equitable New Economic Order</i>	
1975	Franco dies	Indonesian forces occupy East Timor	Indira Gandhi seizes power after losing elections	Helsinki Accords signed at Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, establishing key principles on human rights, security, and cooperation	Mozambique, Angola gain independence	Second MPhil with Dudley Seers as Director		
				Pol Pot takes over in Cambodia	First World Conference on Women held in Mexico	EADI formed		
1976	Mao dies	East Timor incorporated into Indonesia		Argentine military regime kills thousands of civilians				
1977	End of Indian emergency and Indira Gandhi loses elections	General Zia Ul-Haq overthrows Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan		First case of AIDS diagnosed in New York City	Charter 77 published in Czechoslovakia, calling for government's adherence to international human rights accords		Fortin, C., <i>Conference on Third World Political Refugees</i>	
1978	Deng Xiaoping takes power in China and begins 'Four Modernisations'	John Paul II ascends to papal throne	Camp David accords lay groundwork for Middle East peace	Iranian Revolution leads to sharp rise in oil prices		Seasonality Conference; Subordination of Women Collective	K. Young, <i>The Continuing Subordination of Women in the Development Process</i>	

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publications	
1979	SALT II	Vietnam captures Phnom Penh	Amin overthrown	Sandinistas expel Somozas from Nicaragua	Shah of Iran deposed	First IDS panto (Alice in Wonderland, December 1978)		
	Saddam Hussein becomes President of Iraq	Margaret Thatcher becomes Prime Minister of the UK	Soviets invade Afghanistan	Second major oil price increase				
1980	Green Party established in West Germany	Iran-Iraq War begins	Mugabe heads independent Zimbabwe	WHO announces the eradication of smallpox		IDS 'Quangoed'	R. Chambers, <i>Rapid Rural Appraisal: Rationale and Repertoire</i>	
1981	Pope John Paul II shot	Saddat assassinated	Reagan becomes US President	Indonesian Army carries out repression in East Timor	Scientists identify AIDS	IDS saved (and in come workpoints)	A. Little and K. Lewin, <i>Examination Reform and Educational Change in Sri Lanka 1972–82</i>	
	IBM introduces the first PC			Anne Clausen becomes President of the World Bank	Berg report published on Africa, inaugurating Washington Consensus		R. Green, <i>African Economies in the 1980s</i>	
1982	Falklands War begins	Israel pulls out of Sinai and invades Lebanon		Debt default in Mexico and start of world debt crisis		Mike Faber becomes Director	R. Chambers, <i>Rural Development: Putting the Last First</i>	G. White, <i>Development States in East Asia</i>
1983	Reagan announces Strategic Defence Initiative ('Star Wars')			Structural Adjustment Programme created by World Bank			H. Singer, <i>The Ethics of Aid</i>	
1984	Indira Gandhi assassinated			Acute famine in Ethiopia			M. Moore, <i>The State and Peasant Politics in Sri Lanka</i>	
				UNICEF publishes <i>Impact of World Recession on Children</i>				
1985	Gorbachev becomes Soviet leader and inaugurates <i>perestroika</i> and <i>glasnost</i>	Nimieri ousted from Sudan		UK team discovers hole in the ozone layer	US and UK withdraw from UNESCO	Tommy Gee retires after 20 years as IDS Administrator	P. Streeten, <i>Development Dichotomies</i>	

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publications	
				UNICEF starts campaign for Adjustment with a Human Face				
1986	Chernobyl disaster	Former Emperor of CAR tried for mass murder and cannibalism		Barber Conable becomes World Bank President	Uruguay Round of GATT sets up WTO		K. Young, <i>Women and Economic Development: Local, Regional and National Planning</i>	
				IMF creates Structural Adjustment Facility				
1987	China suppresses nationalist uprising in Tibet	Intifada begins against Israel				John Teye becomes Director	J. Swift and J. Ellis, <i>Stability of African Ecosystems: Alternate Paradigms and Implications for Development</i>	R. Murray, <i>Fordism and Post-Fordism</i>
1988	Soviets pull out of Afghanistan	End of Iraq-Iran War	US indicts Panamanian ruler Noriega on drug charges	Army crackdown in Burma		States and Markets study	N. Kabeer, <i>Monitoring Poverty as if Gender Mattered</i>	
1989	Solidarity wins election in Poland	Fall of Berlin Wall	Hirohito dies	Pro-democracy rallies in Tiananmen Square	Chile votes against Pinochet		R. Wade, <i>Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialisation</i>	M. Leach and J. Fairhead, <i>Misreading the African Landscape</i>
				General Stroessner overthrown in Paraguay, democratic elections				
1990	Germany united	Mandela freed	Free elections in Nicaragua	UNICEF organises World Summit for Children	Namibia becomes independent		H. Singer and P. Sarkar, <i>Manufactured Exports of Developing Countries and their Terms of Trade</i>	P. Daniel <i>Foreign aid Revisited</i>
	Major replaces Thatcher as UK Prime Minister	Iraq invades Kuwait, provoking sanctions		UNDP launches first annual <i>Human Development Report</i>				

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publication	
1991	USSR formally dissolved	UN-sanctioned US-led alliance invades Iraq	Slovenia and Croatia declare independence, starting Yugoslav Civil War	Apartheid laws repealed in South Africa	Lewis Preston becomes World Bank President	IDS shifts to accountable three-year grant	S. Griffith-Jones, <i>Conversion of Official Bilateral Debt</i>	
1992	Bosnia-Herzegovina declares independence	US sends troops to Somalia	UK leaves ERM	UN Earth Summit in Rio		BRIDGE launched	D. Evans, <i>Domination and Exploitation in the World Economy in the 1990s</i>	
1993	Maastricht Treaty takes effect	Israel-PLO agreement	Czech Republic and Slovakia formed	UNITAF enter Somalia, 18 US troops killed in Mogadishu	Cambodia returns to constitutional monarchy under Sihanouk	Information strategy starts expansion of information work	R. Kaplinsky, <i>Easternisation: The Spread of Japanese Management Techniques to Developing Countries</i>	N. Kabeer, <i>Reversed Realities</i>
				UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna				
1994	Russian forces move into Chechnya	Mandela elected President of South Africa	NAFTA takes effect	Rwandan Civil War	US forces restore President Aristide in Haiti	Eldis started	A. Wood, <i>North-South Trade, Employment and Inequality: Changing Fortunes in a Skill-driven World</i>	I. Scoones (ed.), <i>Living with Uncertainty: New Directions in Pastoral Development in Africa</i>
	Channel Tunnel completed			UN Population and Development Summit in Cairo			A M. Goetz, <i>Institutionalising Women's Interests and Accountability to Women in Development</i>	
1995	Serbian massacres of Muslims sparks NATO bombings of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina	Israeli troops begin to leave West Bank after nearly 30 years	Itzhak Rabin assassinated	James Wolfensohn becomes President of World Bank	World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen		J. Toye, <i>Public Expenditure Policy and Poverty Reduction</i>	
1996	Taliban capture Afghanistan	Netanyahu elected Israeli Prime Minister		HIPC debt initiative agreed by governments	Benazir Bhutto dismissed in Pakistan and country approaches crisis		I. Scoones, <i>Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis</i>	
				UN Human Settlements Summit in Istanbul	UN World Food Summit in Rome			

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publication	
1997	Election of Blair ends 17 years of Conservative rule in UK	Russia and Chechnya sign peace agreement	Deng Xiaoping dies	Mobutu overthrown in Zaire		Keith Bezanson becomes Director	M. Robinson and G. White, <i>The Democratic Development State</i>	
1998	Northern Ireland peace agreement	US embassies bombed	Tensions mount in Kosovo	Hindu nationalist Vajpayee becomes Indian Prime Minister	Asian currency crisis		L. Mehta et al., <i>Exploring Understandings of Institutions and Uncertainty: New Directions in Natural Resource Management</i>	M. Leach, R. Mearns and I. Scoones, <i>Environmental Entitlements: Dynamics and Institutions in Community-based Natural Resource Management</i>
	India and Pakistan conduct nuclear tests	Suharto steps down from Indonesian dictatorship	Clinton faces impeachment	Hurricane Mitch kills 10,000 in Central America and Caribbean				
1999	King Hussein of Jordan dies	NATO goes to war in Yugoslavia		Obasanjo elected President of Nigeria		IDS makes a surplus	J. Humphrey, <i>Governance in Global Value Chains</i>	
	Mandela retires	Putin succeeds Yeltsin		World population reaches 6 billion				
2000	Fujimori resigns as President of Peru following corruption scandals	Vicente Fox elected Mexican President, ending 71 years of PRI rule		G8 meets in Japan and pledges to end poverty and spread of infectious diseases	UN Millennium Summit and agreement on the Millennium Development Goals		S. Devereux and S. Maxwell, <i>Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa</i>	
2001	Nepal royal family killed	Second Intifada	September 11 New York bombings	178 (not the US) agree to the Kyoto Accord		Crisis, Islam and Development seminar series		
	Sharon wins election in Israel	Bush wins election in US	Berlusconi wins election in Italy					
2002	Taliban overthrown	Bali nightclub bombing	Ivory Coast Civil War				J. Keeley and I. Scoones, <i>Understanding Environmental Policy Processes in Africa</i>	
	UN ratifies International Criminal Court	East Timor becomes independent	Karzai elected Afghan President					

Year	World events			Development events		IDS events	IDS publication	
2003	US-led invasion of Iraq	North Korea withdraws from NPT	President Taylor overthrown in Liberia	SARS strikes Asia	Bam destroyed in massive earthquake	Gender Myths Conference		
2004	Arafat dies	Terrorist bombings around world, notably in Madrid	Chechen hostage crisis	Sudan genocide begins	Nearly 140,000 die in tsunami	Lawrence Haddad becomes Director		
	Congress-led alliance wins Indian elections	Hugo Chavez re-elected in Venezuela	Kofi Annan claims invasion of Iraq 'illegal'			IDS strategy for 2005–2010 formulated, identifying new themes and stronger partnerships		
2005	Morales becomes President of Bolivia			Wolfowitz becomes World Bank President	G8 promises aid to Africa	Governing Body renamed Board of Trustees		
				UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's report <i>In Larger Freedom</i>				

Appendix A4 Photographs



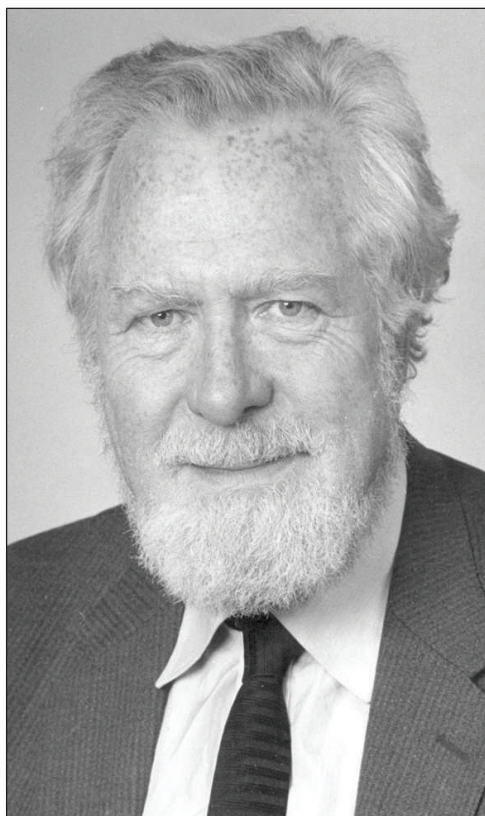
Original IDS location in Stanmer Park.



Current IDS building within the University of Sussex.



The last five Directors, and Hans Singer.
From left, Hans Singer, Richard Jolly, Mike Faber, John Toye, Keith Bezanson and Lawrence Haddad.



Dudley Seers.

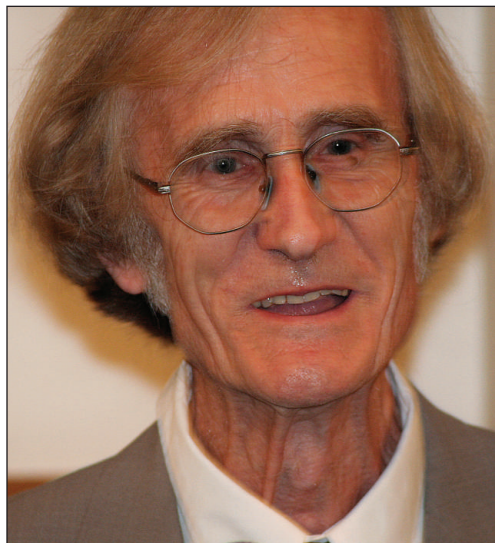


Tommy Gee, Administrative Secretary 1966–1985.

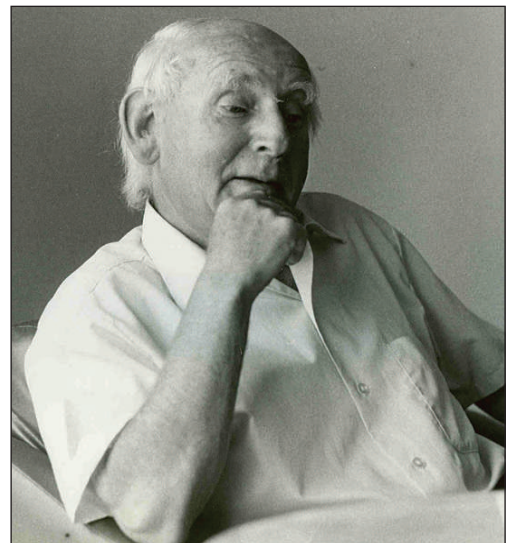


Governing Body

Front row: Sir Denys Wilkinson, Vice Chancellor and Chairman, fourth from right, Mike Faber, Director, and back row fifth from right Sir Michael Caine, Vice Chairman.



Robert Chambers receiving honorary degree in 2006.



Hans Singer.



Brighton and Hove bus named after Sir Hans Singer outside IDS on the 40th anniversary.



40th anniversary conference.



Innovative communications – daily newsletters were produced during the 40th anniversary conference.



MAP Students 2005.



Study Group 1995.

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